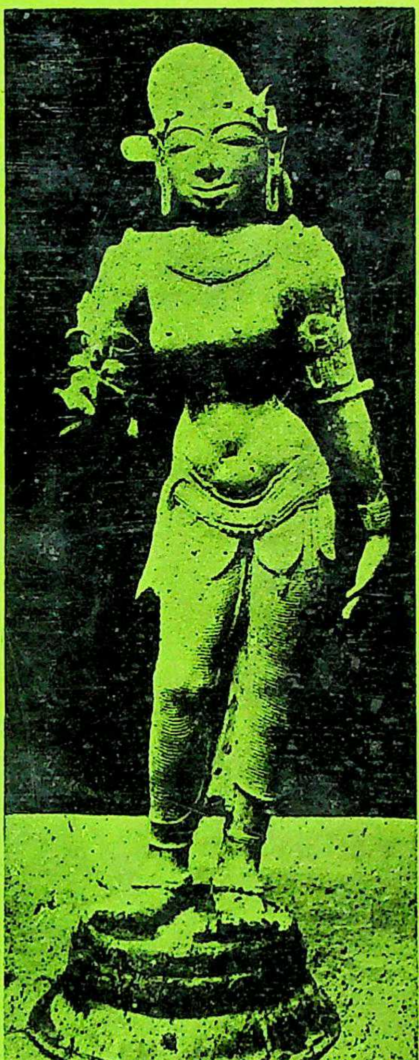
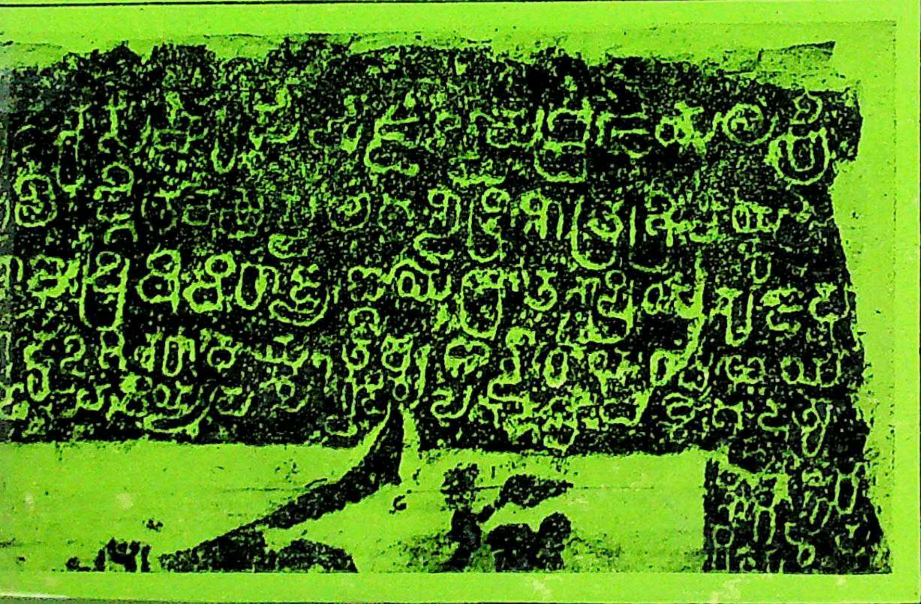
M D SAMPATH

CHITTOOR THROUGH THE AGES





CHITTOOR THROUGH THE AGES

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1980
B.R. PUBLISHING CORPORATION
DELHI-110052

First Published, 1980

© M.D. Sampath

State Museum Library
5205
Lucknow

Rs. 150 $ 30

Published by :

B.R. Publishing Corporation
461, Vivekanand Nagar,
Delhi-110052

Distributed by :

D.K. Publishers' Distributors
1, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi-110002
Phone : 274819

Produced by :

Keemti Lal
87-A, Kamla Nagar,
Delhi-110007

Printed by :

Hans Raj Gupta and Sons
Nai Basti, Anand Parbat,
New Delhi-110005

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समर्पणम्

श्रीजयम्मादोरस्वामिसुतः सम्पत्कुमारकः ।
चित्पुरीशासनादीनि सम्यक् संशोध्य यत्नतः ॥
विमर्शग्रन्थरूपेण प्रकाशीकुरूतेऽधुना ।
ग्रन्थोऽयं श्री श्रीनिवासपदाम्भोजे समर्पितः ॥

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Foreword

Historical studies have taken great strides in the recent years. The emphasis has gradually changed from the chronological—sequential to spatial—variegated aspects. Scholars have attempted to write 'History of India' ending up in the product which is but actually the history of a part of India. A Regional history may be viewed in this context as a miniature history of India especially when it deals also with other aspects such as religion, culture, economics, art etc. Regional histories, when properly projected, are bound to make up a picture through which the thread of Indian culture passes. The South, far removed from the areas exposed to tensions, has preserved much which may explain Indian culture a little more effectively. The present work *Chittoor Through The Ages*, a welcome addition in this context, is the result of studies made along these lines by Dr. M.D. Sampath. As ever, Epigraphy has proved to be the main source well exploited by him. *Every* inscription has been studied to bring out its contents and to expose its bearing on one aspect or other. Naturally the extent of the epigraphic source has reflected in the extent of the chapters beginning from Sangam age gradually growing in their size and spread. A number of minor dynasties such as Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu, the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, the Gaṅgas, the Nōḷambas etc., have been dealt with in a detailed manner to the extent to which their movements have affected the history of this area. The history of the Vaidumbas has been studied in more details, as they were more active in the western part of this District, as also that of the Yādavarāyas in the later period. Chittoor under the Vijayanagara, studied in detail, ends the section on dynastic involvements in this region.

Chittoor has a special claim to the attention of historians in the South on account of its situation as a junction where the three linguistic regions *viz.*, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada meet. The readers may really find that the author has taken care to study the sources in all the three languages in order to bring out this aspect in its proper perspective.

It will be clear more so in the case of the Vijayanagara period when the unified political umbrella made the area secure from frequent disturbances.

The chapter on Economic and Social conditions explains very well, by a new approach, relating the source of income for the State and local bodies to the measures taken for the well-being of the people such as irrigation, temple building etc. The chapter on Art and Architecture of the area is commended to the attention of the scholars for its treatment of the types illustrative of their species both from the neighbouring areas as well as from the earlier times to the later period.

The book is bound to prove to be an excellent guide for regional studies in future.

Chief Epigraphist,
Archaeological Survey of India,
Mysore-5.
September 18, 1979.

K.G. KRISHNAN

Preface

This book is the result of my work on "Chittoor Through The Ages" submitted to the Karnatak University, Dharwar in 1974 for the Ph.D., Degree. It has been revised in parts. In the preparation of this thesis, I have received considerable assistance from a number of persons. It is with great and whole hearted pleasure that I acknowledge the help received for this study.

First and foremost, I should pay my humble respects to late Dr. P.B. Desai, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Director, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar who was kind enough to accept me as one of his research students. It is after a good deal of discussion with him that I finally decided upon the present subject. But for his encouragement I would not have probably completed this work. It is my misfortune that he passed away before seeing this work in the present form. Dr. S.H. Ritti who succeeded Dr. P.B. Desai as Professor of Ancient History and Epigraphy willingly agreed to guide me when after Dr. Desai's demise I had given up my hopes of seeing this through. He has been a source of inspiration. He has gone through the manuscript and revised it and given it the final shape.

I can never have done this job but for the great assistance given to me by Sri K. G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Dr. B.R. Gopal, Epigraphist, Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore and Sri Pandit V.S. Subrahmanyam, Retd. Senior Epigraphical Assistant, Mysore. I owe them more than I can easily express.

Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Superintending Epigraphist, Mysore helped me in reading some of the Kannada records of the region and by correcting the manuscript in the early stages.

Dr. G. S. Gai, Retd. Chief Epigraphist, Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore was very generous in permitting me to consult hundreds of inscriptions that are preserved in his office and to consult the books in the precious library of his office.

I am really indebted to Dr. H.M. Nayak, Director, Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore for having kindly permitted and encouraged me to continue my research when I was serving under him.

I am grateful to Sri K.V. Soundara Rajan, Director, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras, Sri H. Sarkar, Director, Archaeological Survey of India and Dr. K.V. Raman, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras for valuable suggestions when I consulted them and the records of their office in the course of my study of the Art and Architecture of this region.

I am highly thankful to Sri P.R. Srinivasan, Retd. Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan, Sri Madhav N. Katti, Superintending Epigraphist, Dr. F. Gros, French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, Dr. C.R. Srinivasan, Dr. S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Sri H. Subbanachar, Sri S. Srinivasan, Sri T.V. Gopalachari and Sri I. Kartikeya Sharma for their kind help in various ways.

I owe a special debt to Sri M. Thyagarajan, who accompanied me in my field study and taken photographs of the monuments of this region with accuracy and to Sri R. Venkatesan, who printed my photographs with great care and skill. It is a pleasure to thank Sri R.S. Desai for his timely help to recopy and print the photograph of a temple of the region. I wish to register my deep sense of gratitude to Sri P. Natarajan who typed my thesis with great zeal, painstaking care and neat execution.

The authorities of the Karnatak University kindly accorded permission to get the thesis published, for which I sincerely thank them.

Sri K.G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, was gracious enough to adorn the book by writing a weighty Foreword.

Finally, I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my thanks to Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi who permitted me to get my thesis published, to all the temple authorities in this region, authors for the reproduction of photographs, to my family members, my friends like Sri Anantharamu and other officials for their whole hearted service.

Mysore
28.9.1979

M.D. SAMPAṬH

System of Transliteration

ఆ, ಆ, आ = ā,

ఊ, ಊ, ऊ = ū,

ఙ, ಙ, ङ = ṅ,

ఓ, ಓ, ओ = ō,

ఛ, ಛ, छ = chh,

ట, ಟ, ट = ṭ,

డ, ಡ, ड = ḍ,

ణ, ಣ, ण = ṇ,

ష, ಷ, ष = sh,

ఈ, ಈ, ई = ī,

ఋ, ಋ, ऋ = ṛi,

ఏ, ಏ, ए = ē,

చ, ಚ, च = ch,

ఞ, ಞ, ञ = ñ,

ఠ, ಠ, ठ = ṭh,

ఢ, ಢ, ढ = ḍh,

శ, ಶ, श = ś,

ళ, ಳ, ळ = ḷ,

Dravidian palatal alveolar n = ṉ̤

Dravidian palatal alveolar r = ṟ̤

Dravidian cerebral retroflex = ḻ̤

anusvāra = ṁ visarga = ḥ

Abbreviations

A.P.G.R.Ep.	*Andhra Pradesh Government Report on Epigraphy.*
A.R.Ep.	*Annual Report on Epigraphy.*
Arch. Surv. Rep.	*Archaeological Survey Report.*
Ep. Andh.	*Epigraphia Andhrica.*
Ep. Carn.	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary.*
J.A.H.R.S.	*Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.*
J.A.I.H.	*Journal of Ancient Indian History.*
J. Econ. Soc. Hist. O.	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
J. Gau. U.	*Journal of Gauhati University.*
J.I.H.	*Journal of Indian History.*
J.K.U.	*Journal of Karnatak University.*
J.M.U.	*Journal of Madras University.*
J.T.A.	*Journal of Telugu Academy.*
Mys. Arch. Rep.	*Mysore Archaeological Report.*
N.D.I.	*Nellore District Inscriptions.*
Proc. of I.H.C.	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
Q.J.M.S.	*Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society.*
S.I.I.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
S.I.T.I.	*South Indian Temple Inscriptions.*
T.T.D. Ep. Rep.	*Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report.*
T.T.D.I.	*Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.*
Trav. Arch. Series	*Travancore Archaeological Series.*
Trans. Arch. Soc. of S.I.	*Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India.*

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1

Introduction

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

THE TREATISE presented is proposed to delineate here the history of Chittoor in all its aspects from early traceable historic times down to 1600 A.D. Besides an account of the political vicissitudes of the district, it also includes a survey of administrative systems, economic conditions, society, religions, art and architecture.

The scope of the book extends over the region around Chittoor which has played a prominent role in the history of South India throughout the historical period. Situated in a strategic position flanked by the Kannaḍa and the Tamil regions, the region provides good material in all the three languages—Telugu, Tamil and Kannaḍa. Places like Tirupati, Kāḷahasti and Chandragiri of this region are well-known. There are many others which in different periods of history have played the role of capitals or provincial headquarters (like Chippili and Nārāyaṇavanam respectively). Many feudatory dynasties governed different territories in this region. It is for this reason that this region has been selected for a detailed study.

It must be said that all these years much work has been done on the dynastic history of South India. Many major dynasties like the Pallavas, Chālukyas of Vātāpi, Kadambas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Chōḷas, Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Pāṇḍyas, Hoysaḷas, Sēūṇas and Vijayanagara ruled over Peninsular India from early times till the 16th century. They have contributed much to the political, social and cultural growth of South India. Considerable research work has been done regarding the history of most of these dynasties in addition to their being treated in general works on the history of South India. But the minor feudatory dynasties which also contributed much to the cultural growth of our country have not so much attracted the attention of scholars, though some material is published here and there on only some families such as the Bāṇas, Noḷaṁbas, Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa, Telugu-Chōḍas, Yādavarāyas, etc. Much less has been the study of different regions which in their own way made significant contribution to the history of our country. This will help us to know and assess the contributions made by the different regions to the growth of South Indian culture as a whole. It is from this point of view also that the Chittoor region has been taken up for study.

The region under study largely covers the present day Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh bounded by the Nellore district for its major part on the east; by the Chingleput, Dharmapuri and North-Arcot districts of Tamilnadu on the south and south-west; by the Bangalore and Kolar districts of Karnāṭaka on the west and Anantapur, Cuddapah districts on the north. It is, however, to be noted that the study cannot strictly be confined to the modern boundaries of the district since the area governed by different feudatory families and demarcation of the geographical units varied in different periods. As such, to make the study complete, the areas adjacent to the present district have also been included within the scope of the present study.

The middle part in this district is referred to as the Vēṅgaḍam region in *Ahanāṉūṟu*, a Saṅgan anthology of the early centuries of the Christian era. As early as in the middle of 2nd century A.D., Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, referred to this region by name of Aruvanoi. From about the second quarter of the seventh century to about the end of the 9th century this region was under minor ruling families, such as those of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas, the Vaidumbas and the Bāṇas. During this period, the western region of this district was included in the ancient divisions of Rēnāṇḍu-7000 and Vaḍugavaḷi-mēṟku or Vaḍugavaḷiyin-paḍuva and Maṇṇeyin-mūḍa and Puli-nāḍu. Even when under the hegemony of the Chōḷas, the territorial bounds of the Pulināḍu had come to be adjusted, the area itself being called by Perumbāṇappāḍi and thus included in either of the major territorial divisions Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam and Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. We do get reference to the north-western areas being included in a bigger territorial division called Penugoṇḍa-mārjavāḍa from the Vijayanagara records of the Madanapalle taluk. The Puṅganūr territory also is said to have been in the division called Muḷavāy-rājya in the Vijayanagara inscriptions. The inscriptions of the other areas attest to the inclusion of a major portion of the district in the division of Chandragiri-rājya during the later Vijayanagar times.

An interesting feature of this region is that it exhibits the influence of three different languages because of its situation in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tamil and Kannaḍa regions. For example, the Western Gaṅgas extended their sway over the parts of this area as a consequence of which a considerable Kannaḍa population came and settled here. This is testified by a good number of Kannaḍa inscriptions in the Puṅganūr-Madanapalle regions of this district. Such is the case with the Bāṇas whose inscriptions in Kannaḍa are available in the region of Puṅganūr. Since a major area of the district was a part of the Pallava, Chōḷa kingdoms, the availability of Tamil records is only natural.

Because of its geographical situation it was inevitable that this region came under the influence of the major dynasties of the south. During the early period of history, from the 4th to the 9th centuries, almost the whole of the district was under the Pallavas. It then passed into the hands of their successors, the Chōḷas, some portions in the west being ceded to the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Then came the later Pāṇḍyas and Vijayanagara rulers successively under whom this region gained greater prominence.

Before the 11th century feudatory families such as the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, the

Gaṅgas and the Noḷaṁbas played their effective role in shaping the local events. But these feudatories were mostly active in the western areas. The picture reversed in the later centuries when we find the Yādavarāyas and the Telugu-Chōḍas in the eastern parts being more active. In the 11th-13th centuries, the eastern part of the district was under the control of the Iruṅgōḷa, Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅga, Adigaimāṉ and Śīyagaṅga chiefs.

A comprehensive study of the feudatory families of the Chittoor region has not so far been attempted by any scholar, though savants like Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, Vriddhagirisan, Veeraraghavachariar, Venkataramayya, Yashodadevi and Rama Rao have treated some individual families and places of historical significance. Hence in the present thesis places like Tirumala-Tirupati have not come into the purview.

The political scene kept on changing throughout the period under study because of the changes in the imperial dynasties. But the social and religious institutions continued to flourish unabated, art and architecture received impetus and language and literature developed. An attempt is made here to study all these aspects so far as this region is concerned utilizing all the available material.

Chapter *two* deals with the source material wherein the nature and value of different types of sources are assessed and some important inscriptions of special significance to our study are reviewed.

The *third* chapter tries to trace the antiquity of the region and describes the conditions of the Saṅgam age and under the Sātavāhanas and the early Pallavas.

The political history of the region under the successive dynasties like the Pallavas of the Siṁhavishṇu line, the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Vijayanagara rulers and their feudatory families, the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas, Vaiduṁbas, Bāṇas, Western Gaṅgas, Noḷaṁbas, Iruṅgōḷas, Yādavarāyas, Telugu-Chōḍas Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅgas, Adigaimāṉ and Śīyagaṅga chiefs is dealt with in the *next three chapters* (*i.e.*, Chapters IV, V and VI).

Chapter *seven* deals with the features of administration from the chronological and dynastic points of view and an attempt is made here to assess the economic conditions of the region.

The growth of social and religious institutions, epigraphical language and literature is dealt with in chapter *eight*.

The *last* chapter contains a study of the development of art and architecture. A few typical temples are selected for detailed study.

The appendix contains the texts and summaries of some important inscriptions bearing on the study.

2

The Sources

FOR A PROPER understanding of the history of South India in general, the important sources that draw our attention are of four categories *viz*., Epigraphy, Numismatics, Literature and Monuments. Epigraphical sources are by far the largest and most important source than the literary sources which give meagre information for the reconstruction of history. The inscriptions in the Peninsular India are numerous and informative for tracing the sequence of events of a period in the region. They are also helpful in understanding the society and culture of the respective periods and regions. Their value is more enhanced than those of literary works as is well-known because of their contemporaneity and comparatively greater authenticity.

So far as the history of Chittoor is concerned, the first and the foremost and also by far the biggest among the sources are the epigraphical which are prolific, valuable and authentic. The present study is, by necessity, mainly based on the veritable information contained in the numerous stone and copper-plate inscriptions copied from this district and its adjacent territory.

The Epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India have first copied the inscriptions of Chandragiri and Kalahasti taluks in 1889 and 1892 respectively and this branch continued its survey following this, in the years between 1903-05, 1907, 1911 and 1913. Finally, they have been reported with remarks in the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy. They have also been listed in the Appendices later in the Annual Reports of 1922, 1928, 1931-32 and 1933-34. Thus the survey yielded large number of inscriptions numbering about 1750, which supply a fund of information for the reconstruction of history. Since 1945-46 the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy have been replaced by Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy and they contain many inscriptions copied in this region in the later years. The field work undertaken by the author has helped to examine a few known inscriptions and some new ones *in situ*. Some of them are pointed out below.

The Epigraphical branch of Andhra Pradesh government has also done considerable work in this field. They have copied about fifty inscriptions relating to our study. They are listed in their Annual Reports of 1965 and 1966.

About 12 Telugu, Tamil and Kannaḍa inscriptions have been edited in *Epigraphia Indica* and *Indian Antiquary* Volumes. The six volumes published by Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams and edited by Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastry contain about 1167 inscriptions copied from the temples of Tirumala, Tirupati and Tiruchchāṉūr enable us to give a fairly detailed account of the activities of the various kings and local ruling families and the different institutions prevailed in these places and the areas around them. Many more important epigraphs of the present Chittoor district, which will supply new information and a connected account of the events in the different reign periods, remain unpublished. The study of some of the unpublished texts *in situ* and in the Epigraphical branch by me in connection with this study has really yielded good results and it has been possible to bring much new information to light on the political, social and cultural history of the region. Similarly, the unpublished inscriptions from the adjacent places of Chittoor district have also yielded good results for the above study. All these epigraphs have been utilized in full in the present study. Some of the more important inscriptions which materially help us in reconstructing the history of Chittoor region are recounted here.

Texts of some of the inscriptions copied by the Epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India are published in their series of *South Indian Inscriptions* Volumes (Volumes IV, VIII, IX, part I and part II, X, XII, XVI and XVII). Of these volumes, Volume IV edited by H. Krishna Sastri covering places of Tirumala, Tirupati and Kāḷahasti in Chandragiri and Kalahasti taluks contain texts of Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions, while Volume VIII edited by K.V. Subramania Ayyar has Tamil and Telugu inscriptions from Kāḷahasti, Guḍimallam and Tirupati. While Volume IX, part I edited by N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. Shama Sastry of the same series contain texts of some Kannaḍa inscriptions of the early period from Punganur and Madanapalle taluks, Volume IX, part II edited by them deal with Kannaḍa texts of the Vijayanagara period. Telugu inscriptions of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu and Vaidumbas copied from Madanapalle taluk prior to 1922 have been published in Volume X edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu and revised by N. Lakshminarayan Rao. Some of the Pallava records in Tamil are in Volume XII edited by V. Venkatasubba Ayyar. H.K. Narasimhaswami with the assistance of late K.H.V. Sarma, B.R. Gopal, V.S. Subrahmanyam and S.S. Ramachandramurthy edited 21 Telugu inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings collected between the years 1904 and 1928 in the taluks of Chandragiri, Madanapalle, Palmaner, Punganur and Puttur in Volume XVI. Volume XVII edited by K.G. Krishnan with the assistance of K.D. Swaminathan, J. Sundaram and V.S. Subrahmanyam contains 71 Tamil inscriptions of Puttur, Kalahasti, Madanapalle, Chittoor and Chandragiri taluks copied during the years 1903-04.

Epigraphical Sources

The examination of the following inscriptions has yielded results substantially adding more information on the history of this region :

The Māchināyakanapalli record from Dharmapuri district reveals the fact that the earliest Vaiduṁba ruler was Rāmarāja-araśan under the Western Gaṅga king Śivamāra II. The two records from Indukūrupalle and Eguvabaṇḍapalle mention this Rāma-mahārāja as belonging to the Vaiduṁba family. The later epigraph ascribes to him the title *Gaṇḍatriṇētra*, hitherto unknown.

The Pullagaṇṭivāripalle epigraph is another important inscription found in Madanapalle taluk. It reveals the name Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra, who was the son and successor of Rāma-mahārāja. J. Ramayya Pantulu and others read the name as *Śrīchavmākula Sēnāpati*. But the correct reading obtained on an examination of the impressions of the record is Śrī Chivamāru-[l-ēḷan] and this is confirmed by the variant reading of the text in Vandāḍi inscription. This seems to indicate that Rāma-mahārāja named his son after his master and hence described as Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra. The Vandāḍi record helps us to fix the last date of this king. This inscription speaks of his death in a battle at Podan̤r̤ūru in Rēnāṇḍu territory.

The Dharmapuri inscription of a Bāṇa king Mahāvali Vāṇarāya refers to the death of this king at the hands of a Nol̤ṁba, who played a treachery against the former and captured Dharmapuri. It would show that his queen soon after the death of this Bāṇa king gave birth to a child and finally one of the heroes of Bāṇa side proceeded against the Nol̤aṁba, defeated and regained the territory back. But it was not known who this prince was. It is possible to identify him with the Bāṇa Vikramāditya of the Tiruvallam epigraph of Pallava Nandivarman II dated 863 A.D. The genuiness of the Muḍiyanūr plates dated Śaka 261 which refers to *Vadhūvallabha* Malladēva was questioned by scholars. But this has been re-examined and it has been taken as authentic on the basis of palaeography and contents though the details of date given in the record are irregular. In the light of Dharmapuri record referring to his death by *c.* 846 A.D. it is difficult to suggest a correction for the date as Śaka 800, even if all other details of date are taken as correct. This seems to indicate that Malladēva's reign period is very short.

The Proddaṭūr epigraph is another important inscription found in the former Chittoor district. It reveals the title *Kulantāṅgiya perumānār* borne by Malladēva, for he produced a worthy son who could continue the Bāṇa family.

The Kāpalle inscription of Kaṇṇaradēva helps us to trace the genealogy of the Bāṇa kings and the family of engravers who served the Bāṇas.

A record of Tirukkāḷattidēva found at Kāḷahasti is dated in his 11th year, the other details being Vaikāsi, 2[3], ba. 2, Mūla, Monday corresponding to 1177 A.D., May 16. In this record he is mentioned as Narasiṅgan̤ Tirukkāḷattidēvan̤ *alias* Rājādarāja (Rājādhirāja Yādavarāyan̤. This inscription is useful for fixing the genealogy and chronology of this chief and his father Nārasiṅgadēva I.

A close study of the records from Dēvarā-vēmuru and Niḍigallu has enabled me to solve the problem of the identities of Allun-Tikka *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla and Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla. The former dated Śaka 1169 (1247-48 A.D.) describes Vijayādityadēva-chōḍamahārāja as the younger brother of Alutirukāḷadēva-chōḍamahārāja. The latter record refers to the *rōga-śānti* performed by Tikkaya-mārāya, the son of Allun-Tikka for the recovery of the latter from ill-health. This is obviously connected, as shown by me, with the joint rule of Allun-Tikka and his brother Vijayāditya otherwise called Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla commencing in 1250-51 A.D. The death of Allun-Tikka in the hands of Sundarapāṇḍya is also discussed on the basis of a fresh analysis of the latter's *praśasti*.

The Kāḷahasti inscription of Achyutarāya is very important in as much as it enables us to fix the correct date of his coronation. This record in Telugu language and characters is dated Śaka 1454 (= 1532 A.D.) The record states that the king had his coronation in the presence of god Kāḷahastiśvara on the 5th day in the dark fortnight in the month of Kārttika in the year Virōdhi. This date may correspond to November 20, 1529 A.D. The two Tamil records from Kāñchīpuram that mention his campaign after his coronation in Virōdhi, Vṛiśchika, ba. 5 and Virōdhi, Kārttika ba. 5 do not specify the place of his coronation. Scholars have considered these dates as different, while really they all refer to the same date. The lunar name and solar name of the same month have been used. This indicates that there was only one coronation. The reference in *Achyutarāyābhyudayan* about his coronation at Tirupati is proved to be a reference to his visit to Tirupati to offer *archanai* with his own hands as recorded in his inscription there dated in Śaka 1454 (= 1533 A.D.). We receive confirmation from the account of Nuniz that he was away from his capital when his predecessor Kṛishṇadēvarāya died. Moreover, the inscriptions belonging to the reign-period of Achyuta from Kāḷahasti referring to his coronation at this place far away from the capital show that there was some confusion at the capital for obvious reasons which necessitated him to have his coronation at Kāḷahasti on 20th November, 1529 A.D.

Literary Sources

Literature has been examined to the extent to which it throws light on a few important problems of political and religious history. Early Tamil literature of the Saṅgam period such as *Tolkāppiyam*, *Ahanāṉūṟu*, *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Śilappadikāram* help us to fix the importance of Vēṅgaḍam *i.e.*, Tirupati as the northern boundary of the Tamil country in the early times and also gives an account of the spread of linguistic regions and also of Pulli, the chieftain living on the border. The references to this chief in the Tamil literature point to the Chittoor district as the early home of the Kaḷabhras. The few references in the Saṅgam Tamil literature to the use of a different language associated with the *Vaḍugar* point to the linguistic frontiers and in the course of history traced here, we find the attenuation of these borders on account of the migratory movements of people from the north. This has converted this district into an area where the three languages, *viz.*, Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa meet. The reference to Tirupati and Kāḷahasti in the early Vaishṇavite (*Divyaprabandham*) and Śaivite Tamil (*Tēvāram*) literature give us a vivid picture of the preponderance of religious activities in those two places. The great Śaivite hagiology in poetry *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam* called also *Periyapurāṇam* of the 12th century gives the life history of a hunter chief called Kaṇṇappar, who belongs to Pottappi, and who in the course of his hunting expedition came upon the Śivaliṅga at Kāḷahasti and started offering worship accepted by the god. This worship is referred to in a Sanskrit inscription in Grantha characters on the right of entrance into the *gōpura* of the same temple in characters of about the 13th century.

Coming to the later times, we get a number of Sanskrit and Telugu works, some of which throw some light on the life and times of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha (*Sāḷuvābhyudayam*), of Achyutarāya (*Achyutarāyābhyudayam*) etc. A few passages from the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* and *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* have been re-examined, especially the latter has enabled us to evaluate the evidence regarding the coronation of Achyutarāya more precisely.

Monuments

A field study undertaken by the author in the year 1973, January-February has led to a thorough consideration of the surviving monuments, their architecture, iconography portrait sculptures, bronzes, paintings and hero-stones. In some cases it has been possible to fix the dates of the items mentioned above. Detailed description has been attempted in respect of the temples from the point of view of their architecture; of the icons in respect of their basic characteristics leading to their identifications; of the paintings in respect of their identifications and the techniques; and of the portrait-sculptures and hero-stones in respect of their representation of the dignitaries, saintly persons and the common man. About six hundred photographs of these objects were taken in the course of the field work. 51 photographs were selected for presentation.

A. A critical analysis from the point of view of chronology and their artistic quality has been attempted. The temples studied for this purpose have been classified into six types on the basis of the architecture of the central shrine. Some temples not studied so far have been described and classified. They are :

1. Irugīśvara temple at Yātavākili,
2. Varadarājaperumāḷ temple at Vāvilitōṭa,
3. Agastyēśvara temple at Vāvilitōṭa,
4. Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāḷahasti,
5. Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāṇipākkam, and
6. Kāśiviśvēśvara temple at Kāḷahasti.

B. A comparative study of the images of Chaṇḍēśvara, Subrahmaṇya, noticed in some of the temples has been attempted. A comparison of the images of Chaṇḍēśvara has led to a correct placement of the images chronologically based on their characteristic features. The identification of Subrahmaṇya on the *vimāna* of the temples at Yātavākili, Laḍḍigam and Vāvilitōṭa and in the gateway at Laḍḍigam has been postulated on the basis of the *āgamic* texts. A reappraisal of the features of the Liṅga at Guḍimallam has also been made on the basis of *āgamic* texts.

3

The Early Period

THE SAṄGAM AGE

THE HISTORICAL PERIOD of this area begins with the centuries before and after the Christian era. There are no epigraphical sources that shed light on the history of this period. Only the Saṅgam Tamil classics of this period contain a few references to the conditions obtained in this area. The most important reference in this class of literature occurs in respect of Vēṅgaḍam. The most ancient work *Tolkāppiyam*[1] refers to Vēṅgaḍam as the northern boundary of the Tamil speaking area. Vēṅgaḍam is the ancient name for Tirupati. Geographically speaking, Vēṅgaḍam is situated to the north-east of the Tamil country and also in the north-east of Chittoor district. The area north of this Vēṅgaḍam is generally described in the classical works of Saṅgam age as 'the country where the language changes' (*moḻi-peyar-dĕyam*).[2] This area stated to be beyond Vēṅgaḍam is also called *Vaḍugardeyĕm*.[3] A chieftain called Erumai is referred to in one of the poems as a leader of these Vaḍugar.[4] The area under this chief is referred to as Kuḍa-nāḍu. Kuḍa means west. Therefore it seems that the areas north of Tirupati on the east and Kuḍa-nāḍu on the west were inhabited by people speaking a language other than Tamil. Thus the Vaḍugar are stated to be the neighbours of the Tamil country on the north and the north-west. These Vaḍugar are stated to be speaking in a language which is described as *kallā-nīṇ-moḻi*, *i.e.*, uncultivated long forms of speech.[5] We have no means of deciding the name of the language spoken by them. It is known that at present the area once inhabited by the Vaḍugar is occupied by people speaking Telugu on the east and Kannaḍa on the west.

These Vaḍugar are stated to have formed the vanguard of the Mōriyars (Mauryas).[6] It is further stated that in order to enable their chariots to pass through towards the south, the high hills were cut and levelled up. It is not improbable that the hills referred to here were part of the eastern ghats including the Tirupati region. The entire statement seems to contain a vague reference to a distant event of the march of the Mauryan army. It is however difficult to be more specific about this in the absence of more evidence.

The Vaḍugar are once again referred to as having been routed by a Chōḷa king.[7] Here also the identity of the Chōḷa king described as Śōḻar-perumagaṉ and Iḷamperu-mcheṉṉi is not clear.

The chronology of the above events in which the Vaḍugar were involved is far from settled. It will be sufficient if we observe that being placed in the frontiers, these people were naturally involved in the course of communication between the north and the south.

The Kōśar have been identified with the Vaḍugar on the strength of the fact that both were involved in the southward march of the Mauryan army. But this cannot be substantiated in view of the two following facts : (1) The Kōśar are described as *nāṇ-moḻik-Kōśar*[8] and *oṉṟu-moḻik-Kōśar*[9], while the Vaḍugar are described, as pointed out above, as *kallā-nīṇ- moḻi-Vaḍugar*[10] and, 2) The Kōśar could not subdue Paḻaiyaṉ of Mōgūr[11] and the intervention of the Mauryan army, which had the Vaḍugar as their vanguard was sought for.

Pulli was the chieftain known to have ruled next, over the Vēṅgaḍam area. He is described in some of the poems as *kaḷḷvar-kōmān*, *Kallāv-iḷḷaiyar-perumagaṉ*, etc. Since Muttaraiyar chiefs of the later times also bore the title *Kaḷvar-kaḷvan*, it is considered that Pulli and the Muttaraiyar were the descendants of a common tribe called *kaḷvar*.[12]

Pulli is said to have conquered *maḷa-pulam*[13] which may mean the area in the east or the territory of Maḷavar. Since the name Malavar is not known to be the name of any tribe in the region of Vēṅgaḍam, it is difficult to accept the latter meaning. It is possible that Pulli had conquered the area between Tirupati and the coast which is probably described so. Pulli is said to have invited many a visitor to his court, offered drinks and made liberal gifts to them. The poet while extolling the valour of this tribe in great length says that they were anklets signifying their war-like spirit. The hill under this chief is described as *Pulli-kuṉṟam*[14] in one of the poems.

This tribe is considered to have moved towards the west where they assumed the name *Kali-kula* and towards the south where they assumed the name *Kali-araśa*. The word *Kaḷvar* is understood to have been possibly mis-spelt in the manuscript as *Kaḷavara*[15] and later as Kaḷabhra and Kaḷappirar. On the basis of this information it has been surmised the Kaḷabhras were no other than the later descendants of these *Kaḷvar* chiefs. Chittoor district, however, does not seem to have any connection with the later Kaḷabhras. Kaḷabhras and Muttaraiyar are connected on the basis of their common origin from the *Kaḷvar*. The name Muttaraiyar in Tamil seem to be echoed in the Telugu name Mutturāju or Mutrāju interpreted as *Mūtta* (senior or elder) rāju.[16] But the persons bearing the names Gaṇḍara Mutrāju, Erikal Mutturāju, etc. cannot be considered to have belonged to the Kaḷabhra tribes nor are they known to have any connection with the Kaḷabhras at all. This aspect of the question should await further study only in the light of new discoveries.

The Tamil Saṅgam anthologies contain a poem referring to Tiraiyaṉ, a chieftain ruling over Pavvattiri[17] *i.e.*, the modern Reḍḍipālem in Gudur taluk of Nellore district. Vēṅgaḍam hill is said to have belonged to Tiraiyaṉ.[18] Another poem from *Kuṟundogai* of the same anthology states that his territory bordered the area of Vaḍugar. In the Purāṇas we hear of a Toṇḍaimāṉ chief belonging to the Chōḷa family, who is said to have been associated with Tirupati. Toṇḍaimāṉ seems to have belonged to a tribe called Toṇḍaiyar and the land inhabited by this tribe was called Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam or Toṇḍai-nāḍu.

The *Paṭṭinappālai*, another Tamil Saṅgam work contains a reference to Toṇḍaimāṉ Iḷan-Tiraiyaṉ.[19] He was a ruler of Kāñchīpuram and is said to have descended from Vishṇu and to have belonged to the family of Tiraiyar who are considered to have originated from *tirai i.e.*, the waves of the sea. He is eulogised also in another poem called *Perumbāṇāṟṟupaḍai*[20] of Rudraṉ-Kaṇṇaṉār. There is, however, no reference in that work to Pavvattiri ruled by Tiraiyaṉ. The word Iḷan-Tiraiyaṉ meaning 'younger Tiraiyaṉ' seems to suggest that he came in the family of Tiraiyaṉ, the ruler of Pavvattiri referred to in the poem of Nakkīrar.

It is stated in a poem of Kaṇṇaṉār, son of Kāṭṭūr-kiḻār that Vēṅgaḍam was situated in Tiraiyaṉ's territory. From the expression Toṇḍaimāṉ, it is understood that he ruled over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in which Vēṅgaḍam was a part and this seems to indicate the association of Toṇḍaimāṉ Iḷan-Tiraiyaṉ, the ruler of Kāñchi with the area of Vēṅgaḍam. It is therefore possible that Tiraiyaṉ ruling from Pavvattiri earlier and Iḷan-Tiraiyaṉ ruling from Kāñchi later on had Vēṅgaḍam in their territory.

The Sātavāhana Period

The study made so far on the basis of the references in the contemporary literature, makes it clear that the area around Vēṅgaḍam and south of it was inhabited and ruled over by Tamil-speaking people or princes respectively. We shall presently see how and when the Telugu speaking people of the north expanded towards the south. All the events described so far may have to be placed before the period when the Sātavāhanas appeared on the scene.

A study of the coins of Sātavāhana king Vāsishṭhī-putra Sātakarṇi will help us to know the sphere of his influence in the south in general and in particular in the south of the Āndhra country. D.C. Sircar and R. Nagaswamy who have recently studied the bilingual silver coins of this ruler (second century A.D.) differ with regard to the language used in the legend on their reverse.

D.C. Sircar[21] who read one of the silver coins of Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarṇi pointed out that the language of the reverse is Telugu and Dravidian Prakrit and reads :

arahaṇasha Vahiṭṭi-mākaṇasha tiru-Hātakaṇisha

R. Nagaswamy has drawn our attention to the fact that it is in early Tamil and has read as follows :

aracaṇasa Vāciṭṭimākaṇasa tiru cātakaṇisa

R. Panneerselvam[22] has read the legend on the reverse side as :

Vaciṭṭimakanku tiru catakaṇiku aracanku

It may be noted that he interpreted the text and pointed out that *Tolkāppiyam* sūtra of using *ku* as a genitive case ending has been followed in this case.

According to R. Nagaswamy these bilingual coins have been used by king Sātakarṇi for the use of Tamil knowing section in the Hyderabad region, where they have been found. Another interpretation regarding the issue of these Sātavāhana coins is that they wanted to show their Dravidian character by using Dravidian Prakrit and early Telugu and were meant for circulation in the northern-most areas of their kingdom *viz.*, Nasik- Poona region.[23] Yet another scholar suggested that they were meant for use in a limited area in the north and not for Telugu speaking areas.[24]

If the legend on the reverse of the bilingual coins under study is accepted as Tamil, then it is possible that these coins were issued for the subjects on the border land. In other words, they were used to meet the needs of the subjects of the Tamil speaking area under the control of the Sātavāhanas. That such Tamil knowing subjects lived in the Chittoor region is evident from the ancient Tamil Saṅgam works as pointed out in the section under the Saṅgam period. Telugu was not certainly in use upto about the 3rd century A.D. the latest limit set for these works in the region of Vēṅgaḍam and south of it.

The Nāsik *praśasti*[25] of Siri Puḷumāyi Vāsiṭhīputa (Vāsishṭhīputra) Pulumāyi dated in the 19th year of his reign which speaks of the conquests of king Siri Sātakarṇi Gotamīputa (Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi). the ruler of countries such as Asika, Asaka, Muḷaka, Suraṭha, Kukura, Aparante, Anupa, Vidabha and Ākarāvantī describes him as *tisamudatōyapītavāhanasa (trisamudra-tōya-pītavāhanasya)* meaning that 'his chargers had drunk the water of three oceans'. There is no doubt that the first and the second oceans are the eastern and the western oceans, the third being in the far south, *i.e.*, the Indian ocean. From the above reference to the activities of Sātakarṇi recorded in the Nāsik cave inscription that the steeds of the king drank the waters of the three oceans identified above, a fleeting march of this king as far upto Indian ocean should be admitted.[26] If this campaign is admitted, he should be considered to have crossed the area south of the Āndhra country and passed through the Tamil country to reach the Indian ocean. It is, therefore, probable that at least Chittoor region was under the control of the Sātavāhanas.

The provenance of this coin in the Hyderabad region may be due to trade contact and may not have any relationship to the language spoken or linguistic affinity of the people of the area around the findspot.

The Pallavas

The Pallavas are known to be the political successors of the Sātavāhanas in the lower eastern Dekkan.

We come to know from their Prakrit and Sanskrit grants about four early kings who are said to have issued their records from Kāñchīpuram. The earliest among these four referred to in the Prakrit grants of Mayidavōlu[27] and Hīrahaḍagalli[28] is Śiva

Skandavarman, who ruled about the first half of the 4th century A.D. The other three Pallava kings[29] are Vijaya Siṁhavarman (I) (c. 430-60 A.D.), son of Vijaya Skandavarman (II), Nandivarman (c. 480-510 A.D.), son of Skandavarman (III) and Kumāravishṇu (c. 540-50 A.D.), son of Buddhavarman who issued respectively Vēsanta,[30] Udayēndiram[31] and Chēndalūr[32] grants. The villages granted by them were situated in Andhāpati, Sātāhaniraṭṭha, Dattapāṭi and Kaṁma-rāshṭra, all of them located in the Āndhra country.

It is possible that during intervals in this long period of about three centuries, the Pallavas could have lost their hold of Kāñchi and their far-flung territories. This is suggested by the claim of Kumāravishṇu of capturing Kāñchi. Siṁhavishṇu's claims to have captured Chōḷa country and to have driven the Kaḷabhras also suggest the strains that the Pallava supremacy had to bear.[33] The drift of the Kaḷabhras (*Kaḷvar*) from the Vēṅgaḍam region to the west and south, as discussed above, appears to be the main cause for these intervals. The Gupta incursion on the north had also affected the Pallava supremacy for a short while as evidenced by the reference to Kāñchēyaka Vishṇugōpa among the Gupta king's adversaries.[34]

In the midst of all these it is not improbable that the Pallavas had exercised control over Chittoor and around for a nearly long period but for the short breaks as pointed out above. Though there is no direct evidence from the Chittoor region, the fact that they ruled from Kāñchi and had exercised control over the regions in Andhra seems to indicate that the intermediary area of Chittoor might have been under their control.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Tolkāppiyam, Sūtra* : 1.
2. *Ahanāṉūṟu*, 295.
3. *Ibid.*, 213.
4. *Ibid.*, 253 and 115.
5. *Ibid.*, 107.
6. *Ibid.*, 281 and 69.
7. *Ibid.*, 375.
8. K.V. Ramesh : *A History of South Kanara*, p. 14; P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar : *History of the Tamils*, p. 526.
9. *Ahanāṉūṟu*, 196; *Kuṟundogai* : 73, line 4.
10. *Ibid.*, 107.
11. *Ibid.*, 251.
12. *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. V, parts 1-2, p. 78 and footnote No. 2.
13. *Ahanāṉūṟu*, 61.
14. *Ibid.*, 295.
15. *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. V, parts 1-2, p. 79.
16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 224-25.
17. *Ahanāṉūṟu*, 340 and 213.
18. *Ibid.*, 85.
19. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *A History of South India*, p. 126 (Third edition, 1966).
20. *Ibid.*, *The Sangam Age—its Cults and Cultures*, Appendix, p. 21, (Madras,1972).
21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247-52 and plates facing, pp. 250-51.
22. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1969), pp. 281-88.
23. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 251.
24. *J. Econ. Soc. Hist. O.*, Vol. XVI, part I, p. 102.
25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff. and plate.
26. *J.M.U.*, Vol. XXXVIII, parts 1-2, July, 1966 and January, 1967, p. 160.
27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 84-89 and plates.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 2-10 and plates; D.C. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 461-66, (Second edition, 1965, Calcutta).

29. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *A History of South India*, pp. 102-03 (Third edition, 1966).

30. *Pallavar Cheppēḍugaḷ Muppadu*, pp. 310-12.

31. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 142-47.

32. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 233-36 and plate.

33. *J.A.I.H.* Vol. V, parts 1-2, pp. 79-80.

34. D.C. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 264 (Second edition, 1965, Calcutta).

4

Chittoor from 6th to 11th Century

CHŌḶAS OF RENAṆḌU

THE MEMBERS of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa family describe themselves in their inscriptions as the rulers of the Rēnāṇḍu-7000 territory. Rēnāṇḍu is roughly the country between the two tributaries of the river Peṇṇār *viz.*, the Chitrāvati in the north-west and Cheyyāṟu in the south-west occupying a major area of the Cuddapah, parts of Kolar and north-north-western parts of Chittoor district.[1] In an inscription from Bāgepalle,[2] Kiṟudore is mentioned as the limit of Rēnāṇḍu. This is identified with the Kundēṟu river,[3] a tributary of North Peṇṇār. This forms a natural boundary of Rēnāṇḍu in the north bordering Cuddapah district. Rising from Kurnool district, the river Kundēṟu flows through the Jammalamadugu and Proddatur taluks and joins the river Peṇṇār near Eṟṟaguḍipāḍu in the Kamalapuram taluk of Cuddapah district.

The earliest member of this Telugu-Chōḷa family who is known to have ruled over Rēnāṇḍu is Dhanaṁjaya.[4] His records are not found in the Chittoor district. The only king of this family whose record is found in this district is Puṇyakumāra. His inscription found at Chippili, Madanapalle taluk is engraved in Kannaḍa language and characters of the first half of 7th century A.D.[5] It records the death of a hero called Paraśurāman in a fight against Indirān, while Puṇyakomāra was ruling Chippuḷi. Puṇyakumāra is known to us from five other records, three of them being on stone. Of these the Tippalūru inscription states in clear terms that Puṇyakumāra was ruling Rēnāṇḍu from his capital Chirpali (*Chirpaliya-paṭukānu- Rēnāṇḍēḷuchu*).[6] Chirpali of the record is undoubtedly the same as Chippuḷi referred to above.

The Tippalūru inscription is interesting from the point of its palaeography, it being the only record engraved in the Grantha script while the other inscriptions of Puṇyakumāra are in the Telugu-Kannaḍa script.[7] From the Mālēpāḍu[8] and Dommara-Nandyāla plates[9] of Puṇyakumāra, we learn that Mahēndravarma (Mahēndravikramavarmma) was the father of Puṇyakumāra, Dhanaṁjaya (Dhanañjaya) being his grandfather. Dhanañjaya's father was Nandivarman and Siṁhavishṇu and Sundarananda were his elders.

Chittoor has not yielded any record of Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa family other than that of Puṇyakumāra, although it is possible that his predecessors also might have had their sway over this region. It may be noted that the two copper-plates of Puṇyakumāra have been palaeographically assigned to the 8th century A.D.,[10] while his stone inscriptions have to be placed only in the 7th century.[11] The fact that these stone inscriptions belong to 7th century have led the scholars to surmise that Puṇyakumāra had connections with the Pallavas.[12] This surmise appears to gain support from the titles of Puṇyakumāra *viz.*, *gaṇyamānunr̤u*, *mar̤unr̤apiḍugu*, *madamuḍitunr̤u*, *uttamōttamunr̤u*,[13] *Pōrmukharāma*, *Mārdayachittạ*, *Madanavilāsa*[14] etc. These remind one of similar titles borne by Mahēndravarman I of the Pallava family in his Tiruchirāpaḷḷi[15] and Mahābalipuram[16] inscriptions. As seen above the stone inscriptions of Puṇyakumāra[17] have to be assigned to the 7th century that too to its first half. This would make his grandfather a contemporary of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, while his father would be the latter's junior contemporary. They appear to have had some political connections with the Pallavas. Although we do not have Pallava records in the Chittoor region right upto the 9th century,[18] yet the facts that Puṇyakumāra took titles identical with those of the Pallavas,[19] that his grandfather Dhanañjaya named his son Mahēndra probably after the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I and that the Grantha script is used in Puṇyakumāra's Tippalūru inscription[20] do indicate that these were feudatories of the Pallavas.

In view of these facts, as also the definite palaeographical evidence, we may reasonably assign the period of rule of these Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas upto Puṇyakumāra from *c.* 6th century to the middle of the 7th century A.D.,[21] Puṇyakumāra's reign period being *c.* 625 A.D.—*c.* 655 A.D.[22] This would go against the date suggested by Sri H. Krishna Sastri and Sri H.K. Narasimhaswami, who have fixed the dates on the basis of the palaeography of the two copper-plates.[23] An examination of those two plates would show that they were engraved in a transitional period for, we find both the early and later forms of letters like *kh*, *l*, *i*, *b*, *m*, *s* and *k*, *r* and *b* respectively used therein.[24] Although we cannot brush aside these plates as spurious, in view of the clear early characters of the stone records, it may be suggested that those copper-plate records were later copies of earlier original documents.

As stated above, in the Chittoor district we have the record only of Puṇyakumāra among the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas. He was ruling the region with Chippuḷi or Chirpali as his capital. From his copper-plate records we learn that he was ruling over Hiraṇya-rāshṭra[25] (*Puṇyakumāra* (*ro*) *nāma Hiraṇyarāshṭr-ādhipati*[*ḥ**] *sva-rāshṭra-na* (*ni*)*vāsinō jñāpayitvā*). This Hiraṇya-rāshṭra is identified with the region of the present Jammalamadugu and the Proddaturu taluks of Cuddapah district. But it cannot be said that Puṇyakumāra ruled from two capitals *viz.*, Chippuḷi or Chirpali in Madanapalle taluk and Biripār̤u or Mālēpāḍu on the southern bank of Suprayōgā in Hiraṇya-rāshṭra.[26] The copper-plates do not in any way indicate that Biripār̤u or Birapār̤u was a capital.[27] It figures therein only as a village that was granted. Further, we do not have evidence to indicate that Hiraṇya-rāshṭra continued to be under the control of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas after Puṇyakumāra. It is quite likely that

Puṇyakumāra's sway over Hiraṇya-rāshṭra was of a temporary nature. We do not have more detailed information as to how this area came under his control even for a short period or how and why it was lost.

The earliest ruler of parts of the Chittoor region known to us happens to be this Puṇyakumāra. The Rēnāṇḍu territory continued to be ruled by the successors of Puṇyakumāra. But in the north-western parts of Chittoor district which was in the ancient division of Rēnāṇḍu we do not have any record either of his predecessors or of his successors. It may, however, be noted that only a very small tract of Chittoor district (parts, of Madanapalle and Vayalpad taluks) formed part of the Rēnāṇḍu territory and this may as well explain the absence of records of the successors of Puṇyakumāra.

THE VAIDUMBAS

The Vaiduṁbas who succeeded the Telugu Chōḷas in this region are known to us from their inscriptions in the Dharmapuri district of Tamilnadu and the Cuddapah and Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. These records assigned on palaeographical grounds to the period between the 8th and 11th centuries A.D., are mostly in Telugu-Kannaḍa script and languages excepting one in Tamil language and script. Unfortunately almost all these records are engraved on hero-stones set up in memory of the warriors who died in cattle-raids or battles and contain meagre information on the history of the Vaiduṁbas.

Their original habitat seems to have been Vaiduṁbavrōlu[28] (*prōlu* = the *paṭṭana*) in the Chittoor district. It is known to have been the capital of the Vaiduṁbas.[29] Rice suggested that Tuṁba in North Arcot district was their original habitat.[30] But this is not borne out by any evidence. In fact, the Vaiduṁbas did not have any sway over the region of North Arcot district.

The early Vaiduṁba kings[31] are stated to be ruling over Rēnāṇḍu (Rēnāḍu)-7000 country, which was formerly under the rule of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas[32] who after a more or less subordinate rule in Rēnāṇḍu for about two centuries lost their control over this area.

A number of records of the early rulers of this family state clearly that these Vaiduṁbas were ruling over Rēnāṇḍu.[33] The earliest of their records, found in the Dharmapuri and Cuddapah districts respectively mention the rule of Gaṅga Śivamāra II and refers to Rāma-mahārāja (Rāmarāja-arasan), the Vaiduṁba probably as his subordinate. We have independent records of this Vaiduṁba in the Cuddapah district.

Based on an inscription in Tamil and Grantha characters of Kulōttuṅga I found at Mallūru[34] which describes the Vaiduṁbas as belonging to *mahārāja-vaṁsa* (literally, royal family). N. Venkataramanayya[35] opines that they were Kshatriyas. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the other Vaiduṁba inscriptions are completely silent as to their *vaṁśa* or *gōtra*. The statement that they belonged to *mahārāja-vaṁśa* need not be construed to mean that they were kshatriyas. There was no such rigidity that the rulers were to be kshatriyas. Instances of persons belonging to other *varṇas* being rulers are not wanting. The mere attribute of *mahārāja*, hence, need not lead to the conclusion that they were kshatriyas.

It is possible however that these Vaiduṁbas belonged to the lunar race. The Pālagiri (Cuddapah district) record of a later date describes Kaligatriṇētra Bhīma-mahārāja of a later period as *Sōmakula-tilaka*.[36] At Mudivēḍu in the Chittoor district, we have a record[37] of Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāju wherein he is described as belonging to Chandra. . . The last two missing latters may be *kula* or *vaṁśa*. If so, we can say definitely that these Vaiduṁbas belonged to the lunar race.

The Vaiduṁbas were brave and warlike as can be gleaned from their several inscriptions. They fought many a battle against the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas, Noḷaṁbas, Gaṅgas etc. Most of their records commence with the high-flown eulogy—

> "*Svasty-anēka-samara saṁghaṭṭaṇ-ōpalabdha-*
> *Vijayaḷakshmī-samāliṅgita-viśāla-vakshasthala-*"[38]

whereby they claim to have been embraced by the goddess of victory obtained by the prowess of their arms.

It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge to explain the dynastic name Vaiduṁba. There is no reference to any epic or mythological tradition in the inscriptions of this dynasty. N. Venkataramanayya believes that they were earlier known as Auduṁbaras. His view is based on the supposed identification of the Auduṁbara occurring in the inscription of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs, dated Śaka 1155 (= 1233 A.D.) with the name Vaiduṁba. But the word Auduṁbara appears therein in connection with the Kalukaḍapura chiefs and has nothing to do with the Vaiduṁbas with whom they had no connection of any sort.[39]

The earliest chief of the Vaiduṁba family whose records are found in Chittoor district is Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra. However. we have still earlier records of a predecessor of this chief named Rāma-mahārāja. His record from Māchināyakanapalli[40] in the Hosur taluk of Dharmapuri district states that while Śivamāra II of the Gaṅga family was ruling, Rāmarāja-araśan conducted a cattle-raid. This Rāmarāja is described in the record as belonging to Baiduṁba (Vaiduṁba) family. From this it would appear that this Rāmarāja was a subordinate of the Gaṅga king. We know that Śivamāra had an unfortunate career being in and out of prison since he refused to accept the over-lordship of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. He was imprisoned by Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva[41] and remained in confinement for a long time, whereafter he was released by Gōvinda III, a successor of Dhruva. Gōvinda III had got himself involved in a civil war with his brother Staṁbha, who with the help of a confederacy of kings opposed Gōvinda. The purpose behind Śivamāra's release by Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda was that he would thereby earn the goodwill of Śivamāra who would, out of gratitude, stand by him. But it was not to be so. Śivamāra did not remain loyal and persisted in having an independent attitude. There is a possibility that Śivamāra stood by Staṁbha on the other hand. It was natural on the part of Gōvinda III, who after successfully putting down the revolt of his brother pursued Śivamāra, routed him and promptly put him back into prison.[42]

From the Māchināyakanapalli record noticed above, we learn that the Vaiduṁba Rāmarāja-araśan was a subordinate of Śivamāra. The Dharmapuri district wherein the record is found then formed a part of Gaṅgavāḍi. It is possible that the Vaiduṁba chief participated in the battles fought by his master. From the Indukūrupalle[43] and Eguvabaṇḍapalle[44] records of this chief we learn that he was participating in battles. In the latter record we find Rāma-mahārāja[45] bearing the title *Gaṇḍatriṇētra.*[46] Being a loyal feudatory of the Gaṅga, in keeping with the practice of the day, he named his son after his master as Kaligatriṇē[tra] Śrī Śivamāra.

In Chittoor district, we have a solitary record of this chief Kaligatriṇē[tra] Śrī Śivamāra. This inscription records the death of Eḷupakālu,[47] probably one of the sons of Vīra mahārāju, who was the *Sēnāpati* of the Vaidumba king and appears to have been administering Sogale-dēśa. In the published text of this record from Pullagaṇṭivāripalle, a hemlet of Peddatippasamudram in Madanapalle taluk, the second part of this ruler's name Śrī Śivamāra has been read as *Śrīchavamākula Sēnāpati* in line 3.[48] However, an examination of the estampage would indicate that the reading ought to be Śrī Chivamāru[lēḷan].[49] The amended reading as suggested by us with regard to this inscription finds confirmation in a record from Vandāḍi in Rayachoti taluk which is, however, in Cuddapah district.[50] Herein we clearly have the name of Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Si (Śi)va[mā]ra who was evidently the son of Rāma-mahārāja.[51]

This Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra appears to have been succeeded by *Sēnāpati* Vīramahārāju. The Vandāḍi record states that Kaligatriṇētra Si (Śi)vamāra died at Podanṟūru in Rēnāṇḍu in an encounter with Aniveṭṭi of Kaṇṇanūṟ. The chief appears to have killed his foe before he himself fell in the battle. The memorial stone was set up by *Sēnāpati* Vīramahārāju in memory of the deceased king.[52] This *Sēnāpati* Vīramahārāju was the successor of Śivamāra.[53] About a dozen records of this chief are found in Chittoor district. The Veligallu record of this Vīramahārāju says in clear terms that he was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-7000 [*Rēnāṇḍēḷu-vēḷum(vēlum) ēḷuchu*].[54] Although the other records of this chief do not refer to the Rēnāṇḍu region, it must be noted that they occur in Madanapalle taluk which formed a part of the Rēnāṇḍu territory. Two records are situated in the Punganur taluk,[55] adjacent to the Madanapalle taluk. In most of these records the chief is said to have been ruling over the earth (*pṛithivīrājyamgeye*,[56] *pṛithvīrājyañcheya*).[57] Since these records are found in the Rēnāṇḍu territory and no records of any other chief are found in the region we may surmise that Vīramahārāju expanded his territory so as to comprise the whole of Rēnāṇḍu. We can say that his kingdom extended as far as Kurnool[58] in the north and Chittoor in the south. His records reveal the names of a number of his subordinates administering different parts of his kingdom. The Tsadum record states that the village Tsadumbu was under the rule of Loṅkulāditya.[59] Gaṇḍara Mutrāju and Eḷuḷa-ālavilmeṟe[60] appear to have been placed by the Vaidumbas as the chiefs of the Mudivēḍu region.[61] Maṅgala-12 division seems to have been administered by a certain Puṇyakumāra.[62] R.S. Panchamukhi identifies this Puṇyakumāra with his namesake of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa family noticed above.[63] But that Puṇyakumāra flourished in the 7th century A.D. while the Puṇyakumāra of the Bōḍināyanipalle record wherein he is stated to have been administering Maṅgala-12, has to be assigned to the 9th century A.D.[64] Further Maṅgala-12 is a division, far too small over which Puṇyakumāra of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa might have ruled.[65] We know that those Telugu-Chōḷas ruled over Rēnāṇḍu-7000 division. Again Maṅgala-12 was a part of the Bāṇa territory (Pulināḍu region) over which the Bāṇas has sway and these Bāṇas were on inimical terms with Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas.[66]

Kāpalle, a part of the Vaidumba kingdom, was ruled by Sāte-arasa who himself claims to have belonged to the Vaidumba family while Pōrighaṭesūṟe, son of Sūraparasa also said to have belonged to the Vaidumba-kula, was governing Muttukūru, probably in Chittoor district.[67] An inscription from Kāpalle, Punganur taluk states that a certain Kōṇakki mobilised three divisions of army (*kōṭṭa*) and attacked and destroyed Kāpalle.

Several cattle were lifted. The chief of Muttukūru, however, pursued the enemy, defeated him and rescued the cattle. Pōrighaṭesūṟe appears to have lost his life in this battle. The identity of Kōṇakki is not clear nor do we know the reason and other details pertaining to the intrusion of this enemy into the Vaidumba territory.[68]

Pulināḍu is said to have been governed by Palle-arasa, whose identity also is not clear. He is not endowed with any titles. Most likely that he was a local chieftain serving under the Vaidumba. It may be noted in this connection that a record from Kalakaḍa, Vayalpad taluk refers to a *priy-ānuja* (dear younger brother) of Vīramahārāju named Palla[da]yya (Pallavayya). This Pallavayya participated in an encounter against Indireya, brother of Rāmeya of Ōgu, Māṟeya Koṇḍeya, and Doḍe Mā[dhi]yya, who had lifted buffaloes at Tumbevāḍi. The prince is stated to have entered into the fray after learning about the death of Ajaḷa.[69] It may be incidentally noted that there is some difference of opinion with regard to the interpretation of this record.

H.K. Narasimhaswami suggests that Indireya, the younger brother (*tammu*) of Rāmeya of Ōgu and a servant (*Āḷu*) of Palladayya, the dear younger brother (*priy-ānuja*) of the king died on hearing the death of Ajaḷa in a cattle raid at Tumbevāḍi[70] during the reign of Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vaidumba-mahārāja. H.K. Narasimhaswami has assigned this record to about the close of the ninth century.[71] "According to P.B. Desai the object of the record is to commemorate the heroism of only one person *viz.*, Ajaḷa, a servant of Pallada(va)yya, who fought on the side of the Vaidumba chief and died. He take the expression *āḷu* to qualify Ajaḷa (not Indireya), who is stated to have encountered (*puyyavaridu*) the three agressors to wit, Indireya, younger brother of Rāmeya of Ōgu, Maṟeya Koṇḍeya and Doḍe-Mādhiyya. Otherwise he says, it is difficult to explain why Indireya should die on hearing the death of Ajaḷa".[72] Our reading of the text in line 4 is Pallavayya nōḷu and not Pallavayyan-āḷu as read by H.K Narasimhaswami.[73] The word *nōḷu* like *tōḷan* means with. It is an earlier form of *nōḍu* like *tōḍan* or *tōḍu*.[74]

The identification of Pallavayya with the chief Pallava-Dhavaḷa, who figures as a subordinate of Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II, administering Pulināḍu, which must have been wrested from the Bāṇas, is rather highly doubtful.[75]

A record from Peddapālem (a hamlet of Rāmanāyanikōṭa) states that while Manujatriṇētra Palavamahārāju described as the younger brother of Vīramahārāju was ruling, a certain Remma fought with Vāṇarāju and died.[76] This Manujatriṇētra Palavamahārāju is identified by us with Pallavayya. His title *Manujatriṇētra* is interesting. It may be pointed out in this connection that two records from Eguva Abbavaram[77] and Dēvapaṭla[78] in Cuddapah district refer to a certain Pallava-mahārāja. In the former we find the queen named Kundavva making the grant. These two inscriptions can palaeographically be assigned to the 9th century A.D. Hence, it is tempting to identify Pallavamahārāja of these records with Manujatriṇētra. The Tsadumu (Chennarāyanipalle) record states that Manujatriṇētra Śrī Bai(Vai)-dumba-mahārāju was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-7000.[79] The record registers the death of a warrior. who at the instance of the king, engaged the enemy, Vajjirāju, in a fight, drove him out, killed another unknown person and himself died.[80]

The Peddapālem record noticed above refers to a fight with Vāṇarāju whose identity is not clear. The name Vāṇarāju would tempt one to identify him as a Bāṇa chief.

The statement that Manujatriṇētra was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu[81] leads to the question as to what happened to Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāju. We have seen above that Pallavayya, the younger brother (*priy-ānuja*) of Vīramahārāju died in an encounter with Indireya in the skirmish at Tuṁbevāḍi even during the rule of Vīramahārāju.[82] It is clear from this that the younger brother predeceased the elder. Naturally, Manujatriṇētra could not have been ruling over Rēnāṇḍu independently or as Vīramahārāju's successor. It is most likely therefore that this Manujatriṇētra was associated with his brother in administration and therefore atleast for sometime he was a joint ruler. It may be noted that it is only in the Tsadumu record that he is said to be ruling over Rēnāṇḍu.

An inscription from Mudivēḍu,[83] Madanapalle taluk refers to a battle at Kumuḷu in which Gaṇḍara Mutrāju, son of Sajaḷa and grandson of Kalivadējama lost his life. This Gaṇḍara Mutrāju appears to have been a local chief serving under Vīramahārāju. We have already noticed that the Vaiduṁba king 'anointed' Gaṇḍara-Mutrāju[84] and also Eḷuḷakālavilmeṟe[85] as chiefs of the Mudivēḍu region. It is not possible to locate the place Kumuḷu or to identify the enemy with whom Gaṇḍara Mutrāju fought. This officer himself may probably be identified with Mutrāju of the Raṅgasamudram inscription.[86]

The Mallela inscription[87] states that while Bīra(Vīra) mahārāja, apparently identical with Gaṇḍatriṇētra was ruling Pulvēri-nāḍu and Tōḍaṅkan was governing Mallayāl (Mallela), a person from Kottanūru died in a cattle-raid after destroying Nekkuṇḍi.

There are two places named Nekkuṇḍi, one in the Punganur taluk and the other is in the Chintamani taluk of Kolar district.[88] It looks reasonable to assume, from the point of view of proximity that Nekkuṇḍi mentioned in the record is identical with the one in Punganur taluk. But in this period that place was a part of Pulināḍu and was under the hegemony of the Bāṇas. It is known that the Bāṇas and the Vaiduṁbas were politically connected and opposed the Gaṅgas and the Noḷaṁbas. Naturally the relationship between these two families was cordial. We cannot therefore hold that a person from the Vaiduṁba territory could have destroyed Nekkuṇḍi in Punganur taluk, which belonged to the Bāṇas, their political allies. Hence, Nekkuṇḍi has to be identified with the village of that name in Chintamani taluk. An inscription found in this place records the death of Mahārāja Sāvuga, son of Noḷaṁba Gāvuṇḍa in a fight, while Mahāvali Bāṇarasa was ruling and Rāmaya-arasa was governing Nekkuṇḍi.[89] At the time of the Mallela record Nekkuṇḍi was probably in Gaṅga hands and hence the raid of the Vaiduṁbas over that place.

Another battle fought at Tiruvaḷa[90] is referred to in an inscription from Āletipalle in Madanapalle taluk, which can be palaeographically assigned to the 9th century A.D.[91] This inscription records the death of Raṇabhaṅgi, son of Vīrasatti, described as the servant of Vaiduṁba-mahārāja as responsible for the growth of the power of one 'Eṟegaṉ'. The identity of Eṟegaṉ is obscure. Vīrasatti is also said to be the right hand of the *mahārāja* and a worshipper of one [Kimudēva].[92] From this it would appear that Vīrasatti enjoyed an important position in the Vaiduṁba court. His son Raṇabhaṅgi as his very name suggests, appears to have been a renowned warrior, who had distinguished himself in several battles fought on behalf of his overlord the Vaiduṁba king. The record contains a glorious eulogy of this warrior. The epithets describing the valour of this hero are—"*Raṇavijjādharan, Raṇabhāran, Kalivaḍesiṅgam, Ravuddrapratāpan, Tējasāgaran, Trailōkaparbhatan, Varāharūpan* and *Kaliyuga*

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Kandarpan.[93] The Vaiduṁba-mahārāja under whom Raṇabhaṅgi served was most probably Vīramahārāju, for we know that the reign of Vīramahārāju was the most eventful when several battles were fought.[94] It is however, difficult to identify the place Tiruvaḷa where the battle took place and in which Raṇabhaṅgi lost his life. The identification of "Er̤egan̤" with Er̤eyamma[95] figuring in the inscriptions from Rāmanāyanikōṭa in Madanapalle taluk is not certain. Likewise, 'Er̤egan̤' of the present inscription appears to be different from the ruler of Puḷḷuvōlpul 'Er̤eyamma'.[96]

These records of Vīramahārāju discussed above refer to a number of skirmishes and cattle-raids and an analysis of these would reveal that the growth in power of this Vaiduṁba king resulted in greater inimical relationship between him and the neighbouring powers. The policy pursued by Vīramahārāju was one of expansion and consolidation. This naturally resulted in antagonising his neighbours the Noḷaṁbas, the Gaṅgas, the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas etc.[97] The political situation in the Gaṅga country was far from satisfactory. Śivamāra II was succeeded by Rāchamalla I,[98] son of Vijayāditya.[99] How and under what circumstances this king overrided the claims of the legitimate heir Pṛithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II are not known. However Pṛithvīpati having lost the throne was forced to forge alliance with friendly powers. He contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Bāṇas by giving his daughter Kundavva to Bāṇa Vidyādhara.[100] This carved out a new ground in the Gaṅga-Bāṇa relationships which hitherto had been inimical.[101] Rāchamalla I was shrewd enough to realise the danger arising out of this fresh alliance of his cousin with the Bāṇas. To counteract this he befriended the Noḷaṁbas by giving his daughter Jāyabbe in marriage to Poḷalchōr̤a.[102] Although the details are not clear this marked the beginning of a bitter struggle between the two warring groups, who fought many indecisive battles. Pṛithvīpati I held sway over some parts of Gaṅgavāḍi which enabled him to be reckoned as a political force. We find him upholding the cause of Aparājita for whose sake he laid down his life in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam.[103] From an inscription in the Bowringpet region we come to know that the Bāṇas held that part of the Gaṅgavāḍi known as Gaṅgar̤usāsira.[104] They however appear to have entrusted this territory which they had obviously wrested from the Gaṅgas to their ally Pṛithvīpati I. We learn that subsequently, Gaṅga Rāchamalla I launched an attack to recover the territory lost to the Bāṇas.

In this free play of external powers in Gaṅga politics, the Vaiduṁbas under Vīramahārāju also appear to have had a share. This chief seems to have allied himself with Pṛithvīpati I. Naturally, the Vaiduṁbas now had friendly relations with the Bāṇas. It is of interest to note that the Vaiduṁbas and the Bāṇas who were on inimical terms in the past now came together to form a common front to uphold the cause of Pṛithvīpati I.[105]

Thus we see a strange display of power combinations in Gaṅgavāḍi obviously to secure some sort of a balance among the various political powers in the South. Naturally, powers that were hitherto enemies, now allied themselves as friends. The Bāṇa aggression in the Gaṅga country and their occupation of Gaṅga-6000, probably provoked the Noḷaṁba the ally of Gaṅga Rāchamalla I, who launched an attack on the Vaiduṁba country. This Noḷaṁba aggression on the Vaiduṁba country seems to have been referred to in a bilingual inscription from Veligallu, Madanapalle taluk.[106]

The exact import of this bilingual record in Kannaḍa and Telugu languages is difficult to make out. It refers to the rule of the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍatriṇētra over the Rēnāṇḍu-7000 country and then states that in the battle fought at Mudumaḍuvu against the Noḷambas, a certain Mahārāja Chantamānadaḍi, subordinate of the Vaidumba was killed, in retaliation for which, those that were responsible for the killing of Chantamānadaḍi appear to have been attacked and killed by the army of Kōṟadēśinga, some of whose men themselves lost their lives. This Kōṟadēśinga appears to have been either an ally or a subordinate of Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vaidumba and we find him in the record making gifts to the bereaved families, obviously, in recognition of their meritorious service. The record is difficult of interpretation. From what we could make out, it appears that this Kōṟadēśinga was fighting by the side of the Vaidumba. Since we find him as the donor, it is perhaps logical to assume that he was a chief of some importance owing allegiance to the Vaidumba.

Mudumaḍuvu, the place of battle is identical with Mudivēḍu in Madanapalle taluk. This battle appears to have been of some importance since it is found mentioned in other inscriptions also. A record from Madanapalle, for example, records the death of the Ḷoṅkula chief Śrīraṅga in a battle at Mudumaḍuvu.[107] Another record from the same place also registers the death of a hero in the same battle.[108] From these it would appear that the Ḷoṅkulas were the loyal feudatories of the Vaidumbas, who continued their allegiance even in times of crisis like the fierce battle of Mudumaḍuvu.[109]

Similarly, in the Basinikoṇḍa record[110] it is stated that a certain Vikrama Rāmanamaḷuvakkadhūrtan was crushed to death by the elephants in the Mudumaḍuvu battle. The Vandāḍi record[111] refers to a fight between Chāmadaṇḍa, probably a chief and Eṟeyamma, lord of Pulluvōḷpul. It is not clear from the record on which side respectively these two opponents fought. One of them, however, should have been on the Vaidumba side. Otherwise there was no occasion for them to participate in the Mudumaḍuvu battle. Incidentally, all these records discussed above belong to the same period and they refer to the same battle fought at Mudumaḍuvu. It is not possible to identify Pulluvōḷpul of the Vandāḍi record. An inscription from Rāmanāyanikōṭa records the death of a certain Eṟeyamma.[112] Although it is tempting to identify him with his namesake of the Vandāḍi record, since he is not referred to as a chief nor is Pulluvōḷpul associated with him, the identification cannot be easily established. This Rāmanāyanikōṭa record refers to a battle fought at Kōṭūru which may be identified with modern Koṭṭūru. It is quite probable that the battle fought here was one in the sequence of battles leading to Mudumaḍuvu or that it was another battle fought simultaneously.

The Mudumaḍuvu battle was quite serious indeed, but indecisive. It did not stabilize the turbulent political conditions caused by the struggle for succession in the Gaṅga country. We could here review briefly the political condition in the region.

Rāchamalla I does not appear to have succeeded in driving out the Bāṇas who had occupied a part of Gaṅgavāḍi, more so because he was himself fighting with Baṅkēśa and his forces sent by Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I. His ally, the Noḷamba king Poḷalchōṟa pursued the policy of the Gaṅga and attacked Pulināḍu with an intention to divert the attention of the Bāṇas from Gaṅgavāḍi to their own region Pulināḍu. A number of Bāṇa inscriptions found in Punganur taluk bear testimony to several clashes that took place between the invading Noḷamba forces and the defending Bāṇa army. The Bāṇas probably were not only able to hold Pulināḍu, but also able to launch a counter attack on Maṇṇe in order to ease the Noḷamba pressure on Pulināḍu and to gain new territories for their Gaṅga ally Pṛithvīpati I. Rāchamalla I also appears to have launched an attack against the Bāṇas. This might have taken place probably after the departure of Baṅkēśa and the Rāshṭrakūṭa army to the north. The exact date of Baṅkēśa's recall to the north is not clearly known. It may be sometime between 845-50 A.D. Rāchamalla I ruled upto 853 A.D. From this it would appear that it was only during the last years of his life that the Gaṅga Rāchamalla I was able to completely regain the territory. He was succeeded by Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga I, who now pursued the policy of enmity with the Bāṇas. In this connection the Kalakaṭṭūr inscription[113] becomes an interesting document. This record states that Noḷambadiyarasa was ruling Gaṅga-6000 and attacked Taḷakāḍu at the instance of Permānaḍi. Kāḍuveṭṭi and Mṛiḍuva belonging to the army of Mahārāja burnt the village Bermāvi under orders from Mahārāja who instructed them to attack Pulināḍu. Having heard this, Bīrachūḷāmaṇī came and fought obviously with the army of the two chiefs, when several Nāyakas were killed. Tējamāni, the *aṅka* (the servant) of Nayamalla fell in the battle and a *kalnāḍu* (gift of land in honour of the heroic service rendered) was given to the deceased hero. From this record certain things become apparent. First, the Noḷamba king was ruling over Gaṅga-6000. It is difficult to explain this unless it is assumed that a part of his territory had been made over to this Noḷamba by the Gaṅga in recognition of the help received in successfully resisting the enemy's armies. We find from another record[114] also that the Noḷamba king Poḷalchōṟa was ruling over the Gaṅga-6000 territory. It is the same Noḷamba that is obviously referred to in the Kalakaṭṭūr record also.[115] The fact that the Noḷamba attacked Taḷakāḍu would suggest that, that capital was or had been occupied by a person other than the Gaṅga and he must have been a Bāṇa. Mahārāja who instructed his army to attack Pulināḍu appears to be the same Noḷamba who now planned a two-pronged attack against the Bāṇa. The main intention was to drive out the Bāṇa from Taḷakāḍu which he had occupied. The attack on Pulināḍu was a part of this campaign. The Noḷamba probably hoped to divert the attention of the Bāṇa who would loosen his grip over Taḷakāḍu in an effort to preserve his own territory. The Noḷamba as has been stated above was fighting this battle on behalf of his ally, the Gaṅga. The Gaṅga king was Nītimārga I while the Noḷamba was Poḷalchōṟa. It may be noted incidentally that this Noḷamba had married Jāyabbe, daughter of Gaṅga Rāchamalla I and sister of Nītimārga I. This matrimonial relationship strengthened the friendship leading to Noḷamba's rule over Gaṅga-aṟusāsira.[116] The Bāṇas, as anticipated, withdrew from Taḷakāḍu and concentrated their forces in Pulināḍu. A Gaṅga record speaks of that king—Koṅguṇiarasa's attack on Pulināḍu and the destruction of Koyāṟṟūr.[117] The Koṅguṇiarasa referred to in the inscription may be the same as Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga I.

For a short period thereafter there appears to have been some sort of a misunderstanding between the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas. The rise of Noḷamba Mahēndra I to power once again brought these two closer since Mahēndra I now started attacking both the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas. Mahēndra I upheld the cause of his master Rāchamalla I, son of Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga, while the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas upheld the cause of Pṛithvīpati I who was still persisting in his efforts to gain the Gaṅga throne for which he was the rightful claimant.

The series of battles fought between these two powers reached a climax in the famous battle of Sōremaṭi. Several smaller skirmishes had taken place just prior to the final battle. One such is the battle fought at Māndāvuda. It is only from the Bāṇa sources, we come to know the details of this. The Baṅgavāḍi record[118] speaks of the Bāṇa assisted by Perumānaḍigaḷ (*mahārāja*) fighting with the Noḷaṁbas, Rāchamalla, Mayindāḍi and Daḍiga. Māndāvuda, the site of the battle has not been identified. Although this record does not refer to the Vaiduṁba, since the other Vaiduṁba record speaks of the same parties participating in other skirmishes as also in the other battle of Sōremaṭi, it is a fair surmise that the Vaiduṁba also must have taken part in this Māndāvuda battle. The Perumānaḍigaḷ, who assisted the Bāṇa can be identified with Pṛithvīpati I, while Rāchamalla is the second of that name.

This leads us to the great battle fought at Sōremaṭi which proved to be one of the decisive events in settling the political feuds among the various powers in the south caused by the rivalry between the claimants to the Gaṅga throne.

We find that at the end of the fight the political powers that participated in it were considerably weakened and relegated to the background in the political chess-board of the south, excepting for one power—the Noḷaṁba.

As already stated above, the feud between the Vaiduṁbas, the Bāṇas and Pṛithvīpati I on one hand and the Noḷaṁbas and Rāchamalla on the other intensified gradually and ultimately paved the way for the open confrontation between them at Sōremaṭi. The Bāṇas with a view to check the growing power of the Noḷaṁbas, attacked the Noḷaṁba fort at Sōremaṭi, assisted by the Vaiduṁba Gaṇḍatrinētra Vīramahārāju. The part played by Pṛithvīpati I in this battle is however not known. According to R.S. Panchamukhi, the Gaṅga king on whose behalf the Bāṇas and the Vaiduṁbas fought was Nanniya-Gaṅga, the son of Pṛithvīpati I. According to him this is evidenced in an inscription from Gōribidanūr where one Nanniya-Gaṅga, the son of Pṛithvīpati is mentioned. But it is difficult to accept the identification of Pṛithvīpati of this record with Pṛithvīpati I, since we know only of Mārasiṁha as Pṛithvīpati's son. One Mārasiṁha is referred to in an inscription from Takkōlam of Chōḷa Rājakēsari-varman dated 895 A.D., who has been identified with Mārasiṁha, the son of Pṛithvīpati I.

Only from the Vaiduṁba and the Bāṇa inscriptions we know of the occurrence of the battle and its various details. An inscription from Basinikoṇḍa records the death of a hero named Kaḷepunna[ṇi]māṇi, in the battle at Sōremaṭi, when Gaṇḍatriṇētra and Bāṇarasa attacked that fort therein. The record also states that Noḷaṁbi, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi and Guṇḍigeganle were camping at Sōremaṭi.[119]

Also an inscription from Peddatippasamudram speaks of the fight between Vaiduṁba Gaṇḍatriṇētra and the Noḷaṁba king at Sōremaṭi in which one Yemmakāla and Prabhuchelvuṇṟu of the Vaiduṁba army distinguished themselves by their valour and in which the latter lost his life.[120] Two inscriptions from Mudivēḍu in Madanapalle taluk mention the death of some heroes belonging to the Vaiduṁba side in the Sōremaṭi battle. While one records the death of chief named Śrīmeddi, who was ruling over Kuṟṟumaḍuvu,[121] the other records the death of another chief named Eḷuḷakālavilmeṟe[122] who is stated to have been crowned by the Vaiduṁba king himself in the very same battle.

In the Sōremaṭi battle Vaiduṁba Gaṇḍatriṇētra-mahārāju is stated to have lost his son named Dhanumēṭi who appears to have been ruling over Chāḷakallu[123] which however cannot be identified.

The battle at Sōremaṭi does not appear to have brought victory to any of the contenders immediately for, neither the Bāṇa nor the Vaidumba inscriptions which are the only sources from which we hear about this battle have anything to say about the final outcome of this battle. The Noḷamba and the Gaṅga inscriptions are completely silent about this battle. Though none of the participants could claim victory in this battle, it no doubt brought a *detente* between the warring factions, as we do not get any other reference to any major encounter between them after the one at Sōremaṭi.

Sōremaṭi, where the battle took place can be identified with Chōḷamari which is situated in Penugonda taluk, Anantapur district.[124] Being located in the northern-most part of the Noḷamba kingdom and adjacent to the Vaidumba country, this was a place of strategic importance. For the Vaidumbas to gain entry into the Noḷamba kingdom, they had to first pass through Sōremaṭi. That was why the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas chose to attack the Sōremaṭi fort. Can the Sōremaṭi be identified with Suramaṭlapalle, a hamlet of Guṇḍrājapalle in Punganur taluk? Since it is mentioned in the Vaidumba records that the Bāṇas and Vaidumbas attacked the Sōremaṭi fort and the village Suramaṭlapalle in Punganur taluk forms a part of the Bāṇa territory, the place of battle *i.e.*, Sōremaṭi must be outside the Bāṇa territory and hence it cannot be identified with Suramaṭlapalle.

There have been differences of opinion about the exact date of the Sōremaṭi battle. 826 A.D. is the earliest date given by M. Venkataramayya.[125] His view is based on the statement of Maṇṇe plates of Rāchamalla I dated Śaka 750 (=828 A.D.) wherein this king ruling over Gaṅga-96000 claims to have destroyed all his enemies. But in the light of the evidence available from the Bāṇa and Vaidumba records, it is not possible to accept the claim of Rāchamalla I which appears to be more a boast. One may state that 853 A.D.,[126] would be the upper limit for this battle. If the identification of Rāchamalla of the record referring to Sōremaṭi battle with Rāchamalla I and the earliest known date of Nītimārga-Eṟegaṅga as 853 A.D., is accepted then the battle must have been fought in or before this year. These two arguments are based on the identification of Rāchamalla with Rāchamalla I. Sri Panchamukhi however, fixes the battle around 885 A.D.[127] identifying Rāchamalla with Rāchamalla II. A.R. Baji places the date of the battle in about 937-38 A.D.[128] This is of course too late a date. The Noḷamba participant in the battle was Noḷamba Mahēndra. As will be seen in the section on the Noḷambas, Mahēndra's accession could not have taken place before 870 A.D., while his earliest record is dated 878 A.D. The Śrīpurambiyam battle, wherein Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati I, a participant in the Sōremaṭi battle was killed, was fought in 879.[129] Hence, the Sōremaṭi battle itself must have been fought before this date and after 870 A.D., the date of accession of Rāchamalla II since we know that it was this Rāchamalla that participated in the Sōremaṭi battle.

Noḷamba Mahēndra I accepts the overlordship of Nītimārga in one of his records while in none of his records does he refer to Rāchamalla II as his overlord. Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga was his uncle.[130] Hence it would appear natural that as long as Nītimārga lived Mahēndra remained a subordinate. The death of Nītimārga made Mahēndra slowly assume independent status after 870 A.D. That is why his records do not mention Rāchamalla. Rāchamalla II must have acquiesced in the existing political circumstances. Therefore, Mahēndra figures more as an ally than as a subordinate in the Sōremaṭi battle. Taking into consideration these arguments, we may say that the battle must have been fought after 872-73 A.D., assuming that in these two years Rāchamalla was made to realise that Mahēndra I has to be treated as an ally than as a subordinate.

One of the probable results of this hotly contested battle was the breakdown of the Gaṅga-Noḷaṁba alliance. The exact reason for the parting of ways of the Noḷaṁbas and the Gaṅgas is not known. Some scholars have adduced Mahēndra's desire to expand his territories and to carve out a bigger kingdom for himself as one of the probable causes for the rupture of friendship between the Noḷaṁbas and the Gaṅgas. This appears to be the only tangible outcome of the battle. Hereafter we witness a rise in the power of Mahēndra. In a record from Iggali, Nañjangud taluk, it is stated that Noḷaṁba Mahēndra was ruling over Gaṅgavāḍi-96000.[131] The Iggali record[132] registers the death of a hero—Rācheya-Gaṅga—in a battle fought against the Noḷaṁba (Noḷamma) in the Uttariḷḷaga fort, where upon the king Satyavākya Permānaḍi—and Eṟeyappa made a gift of villages. The record is dated the 22nd year (of the coronation of Gaṅga king Permānaḍi) corresponding to 892-93 A.D., in the reign of Rāchamalla II. Since we find the Gaṅga king honouring a hero who fought against the Noḷaṁba it would be clear that the Gaṅga and the Noḷaṁba were now in the opposite camps. The Noḷaṁba of the period was Mahēndra. Further we find Būtuga, the brother of Rāchamalla II claiming to have scored a victory over Mahēndra in the battle at Sāmiya.[133]

One other noticeable result of the Sōremaṭi battle is the decline in power of the Vaiduṁbas. Gaṇḍatrinēṭra Vīramahārāju, thereafter, appears to have lost all prominence. Surprisingly although we know of four sons[134] of this Vaiduṁba, none of them succeeded the father. Of these four sons, Dhanumēṭi predeceased his father, having lost his life in the Sōremaṭi battle itself as can be inferred from the Eguva Baṇḍapalle inscription.[135] Three other sons of Vīramahārāju are known to us from Pullagaṇṭivāripalle[136] record. This belongs to the reign period of Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra, the predecessor of Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāju. It is possible to interpret the record in such a way that it would give a genealogy of Vīramahārāju, the Sēnāpati, by referring to his son, grandson, and great grandson. But such an interpretation is not feasible in view of the chronology. Kaligatriṇētra Śivamāra's reign period may be fixed in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. *i.e. c.* 810-35 A.D. As already stated Kaligatriṇētra Śivamāra, son of Rāma-mahārāja[137] was named after Śivamāra, the overlord. Since this latter Gaṅga king came to the throne in *c.* 788 A.D., Kaligatriṇētra might have been born around that year, if not much later. Assuming that he was born in *c.* 790 A.D. Kaligatriṇētra Śivamāra would be 20 years old when he came to throne in *c.* 810 A.D. If the Pullagaṇṭivāripalle record[138] under discussion should be understood to refer to the son, grand-son and great grand-son of Vīramahārāju, it would result in some incongruous situation.

We have assigned the reign period of this Śivamāra between *c.* 810-35 A.D. We know that Èḷupakālu died during this period.[139] If it is assumed that he died almost in the last year of rule of king Śivamāra in *c.* 835 A.D., when he might have been about 20 years, his great grand-father, Vīramahārāju should have been, born in *c.* 755-65 A.D. But Vīramahārāju passed away around 890 A.D., after the Sōremaṭi battle, which would then mean that he was more than 120 years old. On the other hand, if it is assumed that all the three persons mentioned in the record, *viz.*, Chāndra-ïta (Chandrāditya), Māladēvu (Malladēvu) and Èḷupakālu were sons of Vīramahārāju, and that Èḷupakālu was born in *c.* 815 A.D., his father would be about 25 years old by then. This would give Vīramahārāju a life span of about 90 years, he having born in *c.* 790 A.D. Vīramahārāju's rule is to be fixed between *c.* 835-80 A.D., a fairly long period of rule (*vide genealogical table of Vaidumbas*).

We have to remember that the relationship between Śivamāra and Vīramahārāju is not known. They cannot be father and son since the suggested chronology would go very much against this contention. That Vīramahārāju has been described as *Sēnāpati* of Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra also has to be kept in view. It would, therefore, appear that Vīramahārāju who was almost of the same age as that of Śivamāra was a close relative and hence succeeded Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Śivamāra probably by right. However, we do not have more details regarding this. We do not know who succeeded Gaṇḍatriṇētra.

In this period there seems to have flourished a Vaiduṁba king bearing the title *Birudatriṇētra* who is known from an inscription at Vandāḍi. The inscription does not indicate his relationship with Vīramahārāju. Nor do we know his actual name. On palaeographical grounds the inscription can be placed towards the end of the 9th century A.D. The inscription records the death of a hero in a battle at Pālayam.[140] This Birudatriṇētra's record refers to the ruler of Kalumaḷa.

In the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛithvīpati II[141] dated 915 A.D., Chōḷa Parāntaka I is stated to have defeated a Vaiduṁba king. This inscription, however, does not give the name of the Vaiduṁba king who was defeated by the Chōḷa. This period may as well be considered as one of interregnum. It is only from the Madras Museum plate,[142] dated Śaka 893, Āshāḍha, śu. 7, Thursday, Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti, of Bhuvanatriṇētra, we come to know of a Vaiduṁba king called Bhuvanatriṇētra who made a gift of the village Kāṭicheruvu in Kaḍapa-Twelve to the god Lōkēśvara Bhaṭāra of Aṟtiṟēvula, for the merit of a certain Bhīmarāja and Bāchavva. Some scholars have surmised that these two were parents of Bhuvanatriṇētra.

The record as such does not say specifically any thing about the relationship of Bhuvanatriṇētra and Bhīmarāja. But in this connection it may be noted that the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōḷa[143] (956-73 A.D.) state that his father married a princess belonging to the Vaiduṁba family. From other records of this king we know that his mother was Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār-Vīman-Kundavvaiyār.[144] Prof. Sastri interpreted the relevant passage in the Anbil plates to mean that Kalyāṇi was the name of this Vaiduṁba princess : but it has been shown by H.K. Narasimhaswami that Kalyāṇi was only an epithet[145] and not a proper name. However, that Kundavvai was the daughter of Vīma is clear and accepted by all.

This Bhīma (Vīma) is identified by some with Bhīmarāja figuring in the Madras Museum plate.[146] It has been suggested that this Bhīmarāja might have been a close relative of high rank[147] of Bhuvanatriṇētra, although it is difficult to accept the other suggestion that this Bhīmarāja was the father of Bhuvanatriṇētra. For one thing, we know from Animala record[148] that Bhuvanatriṇētra's father was Be[ja] [yi*] ta (Vijayāditya) and not Bhīma. Secondly, even the chronology goes against the identification of Bhīmarāja with the father of Bhuvanatriṇētra.

We know that Sundara Chōḷa started his rule in 956 A.D. It may be that Sundara Chōḷa was about 15 years old when he commenced his rule. It would mean that he was born around *c.* 940-41 A.D. His mother Kundavvai must have been 15 years old. Then her date of birth would be *c.* 926 A.D., in which case her father might be 20 years old, taking his date of birth *c.* 906 A.D. If Bhuvanatriṇētra were a son of Bhīmarāja, father of Kundavvaiyār, since we know that he started his rule around *c.* 970 A.D., he must have been fairly old, unless it is further surmised that he was born long after Kundavvai. Secondly, as noted above, we have the clear statement of the Animala record which gives the name of his father Be[ja][yi*]ta. Thirdly, Chōḷa Parāntaka I is stated to have defeated a Vaidumba king,[149] as seen above, and this must be before 915 A.D. Since we have placed the date of birth of Bhīmarāja in 906 A.D., this might not be the Vaidumba that was defeated by Parāntaka. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the Vaidumba defeated by Parāntaka I might be Birudatriṇētra, a predecessor of Bhīmarāja. These hostilities appear to have been later on patched up by the matrimonial relationship that they entered into. Bhīmarāja may be assigned a reign period between *c.* 925-50 A.D. From *c.* 950 A.D. till *c.* 970-71 A.D., the next Vaidumba ruler[150] was on the throne. To this we shall revert later.

From the above discussion, it may be said that Birudatriṇētra[151] was succeeded by Bhimarāja. Their mutual relationship is not known. Bhīmarāja was succeeded by Be[ja][yi*]ta,[152] the father of Bhuvanatriṇētra. We do not know the relationship between Bhimarāja and Be[ja][yi*]ta also.

One Vaidumba king seems to have ruled under the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. This is known from an inscription at Pālagiri in Cuddapah district.[153] The inscription is dated Śaka 978, Durmati, Āshāḍha, śu. 15, Thursday (= 1056 A.D., June 20) and records that one Kaligatriṇētra Bhīmamahārāja, son of Maduka mahārāja, of the Vaidumba family, renewed a grant, formerly made by Akālavarsha Chalakenallata Kaṇṇaradēva *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa III, when the Vaidumba mahārāja was ruling the country.[154] The record further mentions that the renewal of the grant was made necessary since the stone containing the original grant was broken away. Though the inscription does not disclose the name of the Vaidumba king who ruled under Kṛishṇa III, it indirectly furnishes some valuable information on the relationship that existed between the Vaidumbas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It is known from the Karhāḍ grant[155] that Kṛishṇa III came on a *digvijaya* to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and conquered all the kings in the south. The Vaidumbas, who were earlier the feudatories of the Chōḷas, were probably forced to shift their allegiance to the Rāshṭrakūṭas due to the weakening of the Chōḷa power and the resultant rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭa power. Their feudatory status under Kṛishṇa III is attested by three inscriptions from Kīḻūr.[156] These records give a genealogy of the Vaidumba governors *viz.*, Sandayyaṉ, his son Tiruvayyaṉ and his son Śrīkaṇṭha.[157] Another inscription from the same place, which is however not dated records that one Vikramāditya was ruling over Vāṇagōppāḍi, Śiṅgapuṟa-nāḍu and Venkuṉṟak-kōṭṭam.[158] It is evident from these inscriptions that these Vaidumba kings did not belong to the main line and were not ruling the regular Vaidumba territory. Probably parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam were entrusted to some Vaidumba scions by Kṛishṇa III after his southern expedition. One Vikramāditya is mentioned in an inscription from Bowringpet wherein his son Tiruvayyaṉ is stated to have been ruling under Iṟiva Noḷamba.[159] *Prima facie* this Tiruvayyaṉ cannot be identified with his namesake in the Kīḻūr inscription, since there is a difference in the overlord, under whom they were serving. Probably they were different chiefs.

The next Vaidumba king we hear about is one Iṟigiya. He is known from his four inscriptions found at Upparapalle[160] and Animala respectively in Proddatur and

Kamalapuram taluks of Cuddapah district[161] Kalakaḍa[162] and Madanapalle respectively in Vayalpad and Madanapalle[163] taluks of Chittoor district, as well as from his only copper-plate charter. The Upparapalle inscription records that Bhuvanatriṇētra was coronated as king in Śaka 894 corresponding to 972 A.D. (*Śakavarshammu 894-gu nĕṇḍu pṛithivīrājya-paṭṭabaddhuṇḍ-ayen*). In the copper-plate charter he is endowed with the title *Mahārāja* as early as Śaka 893 (=971 A.D.) (?). Prof P.B. Desai who edited the copper-plate inscription has shown that the date of the charter Śaka 893. Āshāḍha, śu. 7, Thursday, Dakshiṇāyanasaṅkrānti is irregular and that it may be a mistake for Śaka 891 (expired), which taken with other particulars of the date given in the plate would correspond to 969 A.D., June 24, Thursday.[164] If this date is accepted, then we have to suppose that Bhuvanatriṇētra was on the throne even in Śaka 891. Since the Upparapalle record states that Bhuvanatriṇētra, *i.e.* Ir̤ugeya was coronated in Śaka 894, it is likely that Ir̤ugeya was associated by his father to rule jointly. Naturally, Ir̤ugeya issued a record independently in his own name. It was only in Śaka 894 (= 972 A.D.) that he could get himself crowned after his father abdicated the throne as shown in the sequel.

In the Animala inscription dated Śaka 898, Kārttika, śu.........śi, Friday (*Śukravāraṁbu*), (= 976 A.D.). Ir̤igiya is stated to have performed the *ĕkōddishṭabhukta* ceremony of his father named Be[ja][yi*]ta. This Be[ja][yi*]ta is not known to us from any other inscription. If we have to suppose that this Be[ja][yi*]ta-mahārāja had reigned as king, then he can be identified with the Vaiduṁba mahārāja mentioned in the re-engraved record from Pālagiri[165] in Cuddapah district since he cannot be distant in time from the latter. If the performance of *ĕkōddishṭabhukta* ceremony of Ir̤igiya's father was a contemporary event, then we have to suppose that Ir̤ugeya's (Ir̤igiya's) father Be[ja][yi*]ta abdicated his throne in favour of his son sometime in 972 A.D., the date of the Upparapalle record.[166]

We have already considered some of the records of this Ir̤ugeya. Other records of his are available from Kalakaḍa and Madanapalle. In the Kalakaḍa record[167] we get his full name as Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya-mahārāju (a variant of Ir̤igiya of the Animala record and Ir̤igāya of the Madanapalle record). This inscription is in the Telugu language and Telugu-Kannaḍa script of about the tenth century A.D.[168] The record states that Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya mahārāju granted exemption of *Chir̤u-der̤aḷ* and *tivul̤desa* to the farmers (*kāṁpus*) of Vēnāḍu (whose names are mentioned) and excepting *Dogarācha-paṇṇu*, *Paḍiyĕri-paṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇu* on the happy occasion of his coronation.

Irugeya appears to have enjoyed an independent status as none of his inscriptions noticed above mention him as ruling under any imperial overlord. This may be due to the fact that the Rāshṭrakūṭa power had waned after the disappearance of Kṛishṇa III from the political scene around *c.* 967 A.D.

In the Conjeevaram inscription[169] of Chōḷa Rājarāja I[170] dated Śaka 923 (expired) (or 924 current) (......*°kanṛipa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi.........shu yātĕshu tribhir-adhikĕshu chaturthānyayāt*) corresponding to 1001-02 A.D., we hear of a Vaiduṁba, who besides others is stated to have been one of the potentates of probably Dāna-pūrv-ārṇṇava (Dānārṇṇava) (*°Dāna-pūrv-ārṇṇava tat bhṛi.........V[ai]dumba-prabhṛiti-rāja-rājanya-rājirājata-pīṭhastham*) the Eastern Chāḷukya ruler. But we know nothing about this Vaiduṁba whose name also is not specified in the record.

Subsequently, the records of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I from Tiruvallam in North Arcot district give us the names of five other Vaidumba chiefs. The sixteenth year (1000-01 A.D.) record of Rājarāja I from the above place states that the inhabitants of Vāṇapuram in Karaivaḻi in Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam sold 700 *kuḻi* of land to Śivamahārāja Śaṅkaradēva, son of Tiruvaiyaṉ,[171] who made over the grant to the temple of Tiruvaiya-īśvara. Another inscription from the same place but dated in the 3rd year (1014-15 A.D.) of the reign of Rājēndrachōḷa I[172] records a grant of 1000 *kuḻi* of land, after purchasing it from the villagers of Vāṇapuram in Karaivaḻi in Perumbāṇappāḍi in Paḍuvūrk-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam to the deity Tiruvallam-Uḍaiyār by Sōmanātha, son of Śaṅkaradēva (*Śaṅkaradēvaṉ Sōmanāthaṉ*) of the Vaidumba family.

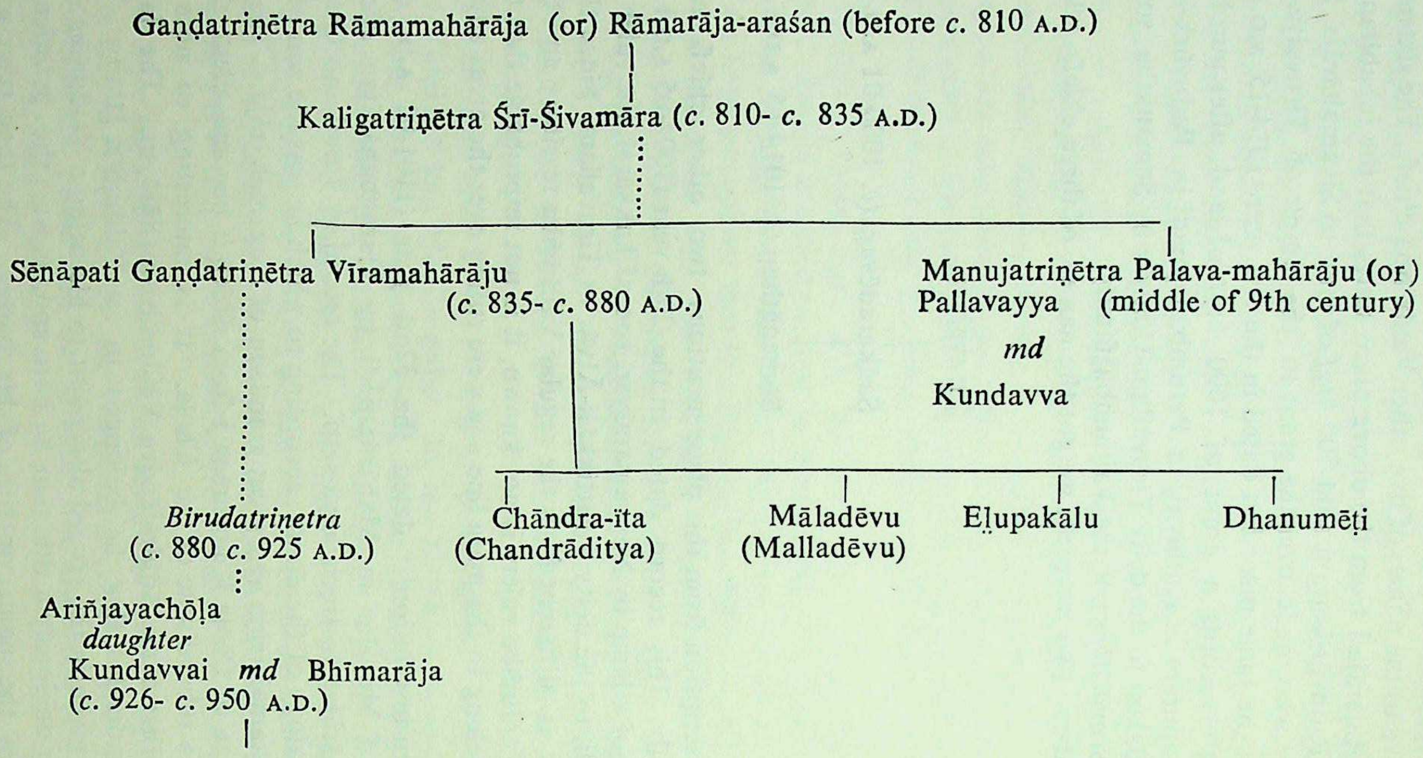
From the above two records, we got the names of three chiefs, whose genealogy is given below :

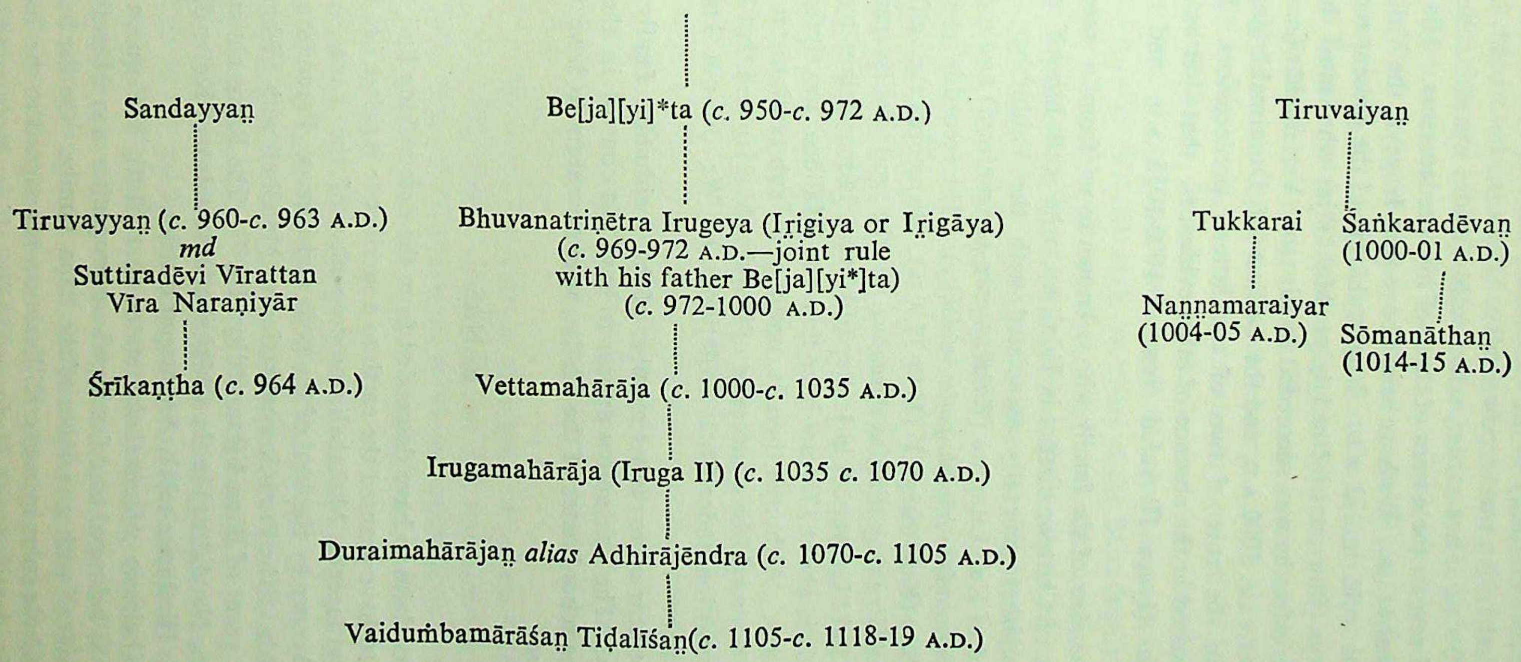
Tiruvaiyaṉ
|
Śaṅkaradēvaṉ (*c.* 1000-01 A.D.)
|
Sōmanāthaṉ (*c.* 1014-15 A.D.)

Another inscription from this place mentions two other chiefs belonging to the Vaidumba family. This record dated in the 20th year (1004-05 A.D.) of Rājarāja I[173], records the gift of a lamp by Naṉṉamaraiyar, son of Tukkarai, the ruler of Iṅgallūr-nāḍu in Mahārājavāḍi, to the deity Tiruttikkāli-Āḻvār at Tiruvallam. Since the area of rule of these chiefs is different from the regular Vaidumba territory and their relationship with the main Vaidumba rulers is not known, it is not improbable that these Vaidumba chiefs did not belong to the main line and were ruling over the areas adjoining Rēnāṇḍu-7000 territory.

The Mallūru inscription[174] dated the 32nd year (1101-02 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga I registers a gift of Muṟaḷūr in Mahārājapāḍi by Duraimahārājaṉ *alias* Adhirājēndra Vaidumba Mahārājaṉ to Irechchaya-śeṭṭi. The record in Tamil and Grantha characters contains a genealogy of the donor, according to which he was the son of Irugamahārāja, grandson of Vettamahārāja and great grandson of Irugamahārāja. The record actually refers to the reign of Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga I from which it becomes clear that this Duraimahārājaṉ was a subordinate of the Chōḷa. It is interesting to note that he is also known by the other name Adhirājēndra Vaidumba-mahārājaṉ. The latter part of this name clearly indicates that he belonged to the Vaidumba family. The name of his predecessors as given in the record also point to his being a Vaidumba. The first part, Adhirājēndra, is obviously a title that he bore and, as was the practice of the day, it must have been the name or title of his master. The then ruler was Kulōttuṅga I, whose subordinate he was. But we know that Kulōttuṅga I succeeded Adhirājēndra. who ruled for a very short period between 1067-70 A.D. Hence *Adhirājēndra*, the title that the Vaidumba took, must have been in honour of that Chōḷa king Adhirājēndra. Was he then a subordinate of Adhirājēndra between 1067-70 A.D. ? The date of the record under review is 1101-02 A.D., which would mean that Duraimahārājaṉ continued

GENEALOGY OF THE VAIDUMBAS


Gaṇḍatriṇētra Rāmamahārāja (or) Rāmarāja-araśan (before *c.* 810 A.D.)
Kaligatriṇētra Śrī-Śivamāra (*c.* 810- *c.* 835 A.D.)
Sēnāpati Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāju (*c.* 835- *c.* 880 A.D.)
Manujatriṇētra Palava-mahārāju (or) Pallavayya (middle of 9th century)
md
Kundavva
Birudatriṇetra (*c.* 880 *c.* 925 A.D.)
Chāndra-ïta (Chandrāditya)
Māladēvu (Malladēvu)
Eḷupakālu
Dhanumēṭi
Ariñjayachōḷa
daughter
Kundavvai *md* Bhīmarāja
(*c.* 926- *c.* 950 A.D.)


Sandayyaṇ
Tiruvayyaṇ (*c.* 960-*c.* 963 A.D.) *md* Suttiradēvi Vīrattan Vīra Naraṇiyār
Śrīkaṇṭha (*c.* 964 A.D.)
Be[ja][yi]*ta (*c.* 950-*c.* 972 A.D.)
Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya (Iṟigiya or Iṟigāya) (*c.* 969-972 A.D.—joint rule with his father Be[ja][yi*]ta) (*c.* 972-1000 A.D.)
Vettamahārāja (*c.* 1000-*c.* 1035 A.D.)
Irugamahārāja (Iruga II) (*c.* 1035 *c.* 1070 A.D.)
Duraimahārājaṇ *alias* Adhirājēndra (*c.* 1070-*c.* 1105 A.D.)
Vaidumbamārāśaṇ Tiḍalīśaṇ(*c.* 1105-*c.* 1118-19 A.D.)
Tiruvaiyaṇ
Tukkarai
Naṉṉamaraiyar (1004-05 A.D.)
Śaṅkaradēvaṇ (1000-01 A.D.)
Sōmanāthaṇ (1014-15 A.D.)

to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chōḷa from the reign period of Adhirājēndra himself. If Duraimahārājaṉ was in power till *c.* 1105 A.D., he would have succeeded his father in *c.* 1070 A.D., if not earlier, when Adhirājēndra was still ruling.

The record reveals the names of three of his predecessors. His great grandfather is called Irugamahārāja. We have seen above that Irugeya, the Vaidumba commenced his independent rule in 972 A.D. Irugamahārāja of the present record is in all probability this Irugeya (Bhuvanatriṇētra Iṟigiya Mahārāja) who must have ruled upto *c.* 1000 A.D. Thereafter he was succeeded by his son Vettamahārāja. Between the last date of Irugeya *i.e., c.* 1000 A.D. and the earliest of Duraimahārājaṉ *i.e. c.* 1070 A.D., we have to fit in the rule of two of the latter's predecessors. It may therefore be reasonably surmised in the absence of other evidences, that Vettamahārāja and his son Irugamahārājan (Iṟuga II) ruled from *c.* 1000-1035 A.D. and *c.* 1035-1070 A.D. respectively.

The last member of the family who is known to us from a record in Kalakaḍa,[175] Vayalpad taluk of Chittoor district is Tiḍalīśaṉ, who calls himself a *Vaidumbamāraśaṉ* and bears the epithet generally associated with the Vaidumbas. He also describes himself the lord of Kalukaṭapura (*Kalukaṭapura-paramēśvara*) and a devotee of Siddhavaṭadēva (*Siddhavaṭadēva-śrīpāda-padmārādhaka*). The record is dated in the 49th year of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa (Kulōttuṅga I) (1118-19 A.D.). It records the gift of Muṟukkēttam, Kuḍiyēttam and Tirukkāḷattiēri as *dēvadāna* to the god Pallīśvaramuḍaiya-Mādēva at Kaṟkaḍai in Kīḻai Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam by Vaidumbamārāśaṉ Tiḍalīśaṉ. This is about 17 years later than the Mallūru inscription[176] wherein Duraimahārājaṉ figures. Although there is nothing to substantiate, it has been surmised that this Tiḍalīśaṉ might be a successor of Duraimahārājaṉ and that he continued to hold a subordinate position under Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga I. We do not know the relationship between these two.

We do not hear of any other member of the Vaidumba family in Chittoor district after Tiḍalīśaṉ. The Vaidumbas appear to have lost control in the regions of Chittoor district, even as subordinates of the Chōḷas, who now seem to have taken direct control over this region.

BĀṆAS

The Bāṇas claim to have descended from the demon king Bali, son of Virōchana, who is stated to have granted the earth to a sacrifice to Kṛishṇa *i.e.,* Vishṇu.[177] According to mythological legends, Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bāṇas, is said to have been made a door-keeper by the lord of the gods and demons, Paramēśvara, worshipped in all the three worlds. The Purāṇic connection of Mahābali with Vishṇu is narrated in the Udayēndiram grant of Bāṇa Vikramāditya III.[178] The Bāṇas claim to be the lords of Nandagiri (*i.e.,* Nandidrug) in the Chikkaballapur taluk of Kolar district and Paṟivipura *i.e., Paṟigi,*[179] Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district.

The Tamiḻ classic *Maṇimēkalai* states that Śīrtti, the queen of the Chōḷa king Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi belonged to a family whose progenitor was Māvali. It is tempting to identify this Māvali with a member of the Bāṇa family. On the basis of the Sinhalese chronicles, a Chōḷa ruler by name Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ is assigned to the 2nd century A.D.[180] This Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ is identified with Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi. If so, Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi has to be placed around 2nd century A.D., and herein we get the earliest reference to the existence of the Bāṇa family. The earliest unambiguous inscriptional reference to the Bāṇas is to be found in the Tāḷagunda record[181] of Kadamba Kākusthavarman (*c.* 422-47 A.D.), wherein the Kadamba ruler Mayūraśarman (*c.* 332-57 A.D.) is stated to have levied tribute from the Bṛihat-Bāṇas, who were at the head of a feudal confederacy (*ādadi karān Bṛihad-Bāṇa-pramukha-rāja-maṇḍalāt*).[182] Kielhorn opines that the Bṛihat-Bāṇa of the Kadamba record corresponds to Peruṁbāṇa of Tamil inscriptions.[183]

Another reference to the Bāṇas occurs in the Halmiḍi inscription of Kadamba king Kākusthavarman assigned to the middle of 5th century A.D.[184] It records a grant of Palmaḍi and Mūḷivaḷḷi to Vija-araśa, son of Ellabhaṭari as a reward for his victory over the Kēkayas and the Pallavas. It refers to the heroes (*Vīrapurusha*) of Bāṇadēśa (*Sĕndraka-Baṇōbhaya-dĕśada-Vīrapurusha-samakshade Kĕkaya-Pallavaraṁ kāḍeṟidu*). In the Udayēndiram plates it is stated that the early members of the Bāṇa family ruled over a tract of land called *Āndhrāt-pathaḥ-paśchimataḥ kshitiḥ*[185] *i.e.*, the country to the west of the road leading to Āndhra. This has been expressed differently in various Tamil and Kannaḍa records as *Vaḍugavaḻi-mĕṟku*, *Vaḍugavaḻiyiṉ-mĕṟku*, *Vaḍugavaḻi-pannī rāyiram*, *Vaḍugavaḻi-pannīrchchāśira* and *Vaḍugavaḻiyinpaḍuva*.[186]

The early rulers of this family served as subordinates of the Pallavas of Kāñchi in the area to the west of the road leading to Āndhra until the region was conquered and annexed to the Chālukya kingdom by Pulakēśin II (610-42 A.D.).[187] While the Bṛihad-Bāṇas served the Chālukyas from their territory in the ceded districts,[188] a branch of the Bāṇa family flourished in the southern parts of Chittoor district and the northern parts of the North Arcot district and served the Pallavas.

Some scholars seek to identify the twelve thousand villages in the Āndhra- maṇḍalam referred to in the Muḍiyanūr plates with the division Vaḍugavaḻi-12000.[189] This territory ruled by the Bāṇas seems to have extended originally into the ceded districts, from Chittoor in the south to the Siddhout (Siddhavatam) taluk in the north, including the Anantapur region and this area lay to the west of the road leading to Āndhra country.[190] Peruṁbāṇappāḍi included the region from Puṅganūr in the west to Kāḷahasti in the east in Chittoor district.

The Vāṇakōvaraiyar chiefs who figure in the inscriptions[191] of the Pallava kings like Mahēndravarman I, Narasimhavarman, Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla and Kampavarman are found in the region of Cheṅgam in the North Arcot district of Tamilnāḍu which is definitely to the south of Pālār indicating that even the regions below Pālār were a part of the Bāṇa territory.

According to Hultzsch, Tiruvallam called Tīkkāli-vallam in the inscriptions was the capital of the Bāṇas, as it belonged to the Peruṁbāṇappāḍi region.[192] The place Vāṇapuram near Tiruvallam seem to have been the residence of the Bāṇa chiefs. It is not unlikely that this town is the same as modern Vāṇasamudram.[193]

The genealogy of the early rulers is narrated in the Udayēndiram[194] and Guḍimallam plates[195] of Vikramāditya as also the Muḍiyanūr plates[196] of Malladēva. All the three refer to the first two kings of the family as Jaya Nandivarman (Nandivarman) and Vijayāditya. The Muḍiyanūr plates purport to belong to the reign of Malladēva, son of Vijayāditya. However, in this grant the king is referred to as *Vadhūvallabha* Malladēva Nandivarman.[197] *Vadhūvallabha* may be construed as an epithet while Nandivarman would be the proper name. In that case the full name of the Bāṇa king would be Malladēva-Nandivarman.

We have evidences to indicate that Malladēva bore the title Jagadēkamalla.[198] The authenticity of Muḍiyanūr plates is to be doubted on account of the date cited in the record *viz.*, Śaka 261. Rice does not suspect its authenticity and seems to hold that the rulers mentioned herein may be the predecessors of Jayanandivarman, the first ruler mentioned in the other two records.[199] Malladēva-Nandivarman of this record is said to have been ruling over the Seven-and-a-half lakh country containing twelve thousand villages in the Āndhra-maṇḍala. We do not have such an early reference to the *Saptārddha-laksha*[200] country in any other record. This would be the earliest record to refer to that division.[201] The two other plates referred to above also do not mention any such territory. Palaeographically the plates will have to be assigned to a quite later period, *i.e.*, *c.* 9th century A.D.[202] Hence, it may be said that this record no doubt belongs to Malladēva, the third ruler in the genealogy. That he bears the epithet *Vadhūvallabha* and calls himself Malladēva Nandivarman are points not found in other records. The Śaka year mentioned in the record is certainly wrong. In the 9th century, the other details of date excepting the constellation Aśvini, Viḷambi, Kārttika, śu 13, Monday, regularly corresponds to 878 A.D., October 13, Monday. The constellation was Rēvati, Aśvini occurring on the next day. The Śaka year then would be 800. But as will be seen later in the sequel, by this date Malladēva was no more living. Hence this cannot be the intended date of the record. Although, from the point of the contents of the record the Muḍiyanūr plates need not be brushed aside as spurious, its date is certainly wrong and misleading. Jayanandivarman of this record who ruled the land west of the road to Āndhra country is identified with Nandivarman of the Guḍimallam charter. The donor of the Guḍimallam plates named Nandi, who granted to brāhmaṇas the village called Viprapīṭha (Sanskrit Tiruvippirambēḍu or Tiruviṟperumbēḍu of the Guḍimallam stone inscriptions)[203] is the same as Nandivarman mentioned in another verse of the same grant.

From the Kuliḍikki[204] and Tiruvallam[205] records of Pallava Nandivarman II, we come to know more about the early Bāṇas. From the high regnal year quoted therein *i.e.*, the 52nd year, the king mentioned in the Kuliḍikki inscription has been identified with the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The record states that in that year *i.e.*, the 52nd year (782-83 A.D.) of the king Nandīchchuraparumar, on the day when the army of Vallavaraiyaṉ marched against Perumāṇaḍigaḷ and besieged (the fortress of) Veṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, Gaṅgadiyaraiyar, the chief of Kaṟkāṭṭūr at the instance of Vāṇaraiyar (his) uncle (or father-in-law) directing him to proceed (fought) and died. The hero-stone *kannāḍu* was set up by Peruṁgaṅgar.[206]

V. Venkatasubba Ayyar read the word as Pallavaraiyar and identified him with the Pallava king and said that the chief Gaṅgadiyaraiyar who died in the battle fought on behalf of Perumānaḍigaḷ who is sought to be identified with a Gaṅga king.[207] Vāṇarāyar is identified with Bāṇa, who allied himself with the Gaṅga when the Pallava attacked. The Bāṇa of the Vaḍugavaḷi region, thus, is supposed to have ordered his man—the chief Gaṅgadiyaraiyar—to resist the Pallava attack.

But in view of the provenance of the record in the Guḍiyāttam region which then was a part of the Pallava territory and in view of its being dated in the reign period of the Pallava, it is difficult to accept the identification of Perumānaḍigaḷ with a Western Gaṅga king. On the other hand, Vallavaraiyar of the record is to be identified with the Vallabha *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva. It is known that this king's brother

Gōvinda revolted and sought the help of a number of southern powers to establish his claim.[208] Dhruva who got into the saddle of power (*c.* 780 A.D.) put down the rebellion and appears to have attacked the south in retaliation. Nandivarman II Pallavamalla's reign is considered to have commenced in 730-31 A.D., fixed on the basis of Uḷchāla record[209] and hence his 52nd year would correspond to 782-83 A.D. This was the period of Dhruva's southern invasion.[210]

It may be further stated that the contemporary Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha did not acknowledge the overlordship of Pallava Nandivarman who is known to have fought a series of battles against him.[211] This Gaṅga did not accept the suzerainty of the Rāshṭrakūṭas either, although once in Śaka 690 (=768 A.D.) he had suffered defeat at the hands of Kṛishṇa I.[212] Dhruva on his part was incessantly attacking the Gaṅga and the Pallava territories. The Kuliḍikki inscription seems to refer to one such attack by the Vallabha against the Pallava, soon after his assuming the power.

From the above discussion on the Kuliḍikki inscription, it may be inferred that the Bāṇas while backing up the Pallavas rose against the Vallabha forces. Vāṇaraiyar of this record may be identified with Jayanandivarman of the Udayēndiram plates. The Bāṇa king who directed the Gaṅga chief from Kaṟkāṭṭūr was perhaps one of the Pulināḍu Bāṇas ruling over Perumbāṇappāḍi region which included Kalakaṭṭūr.

The Tiruvallam record of the 62nd (year (792-93 A.D.) of Vijaya Nandivikramavarman states that a certain Māvali-Vāṇarāyar, was ruling over Vaḍugavaḷi-12000.[213] The personal name of this Mahāvaḷi Bāṇarāja is not known. Venkayya has identified the ruler of the Tiruvallam record with the successor of Pallava Dantivarman *viz.*, Nandivarman III.[214] The Bāṇa chief mentioned in the record is associated with the *praśasti Sakala-jagattray-ābhivandita-sur-āsur-ādhīśa-pratihārīkṛita* etc. These are not found ascribed to Bāṇa Jayanandivarman (or) Nandivarman of the Udayēndiram and Guḍimallam plates respectively. It may not be farfetched if we identify the Bāṇa chief of the Tiruvallam record with Vijayāditya I, the successor of Jayanandivarman, although there are not secure grounds for such an identification. Bāṇa Vijayāditya mentioned in the record of forty-ninth year (845 A.D.) of Dantivarman, son of Nandivarman II, is identical with Vijayāditya, son of Jayanandivarman.[215] Hence, we may fix the reign period of Bāṇa Vijayāditya I between *c.* 793-845 A.D.

This was a period of political confusion in the Gaṅga country. As long as Śivamāra II, son of Śrīpurusha lived, he did not accept the suzerainty of the Rāshṭrakūṭa. But his own house had not been set in order. Śivamāra who spent most of his time in the prison made over his kingdom to Vijayāditya[216] in preference to his own son Pṛithvīpati I. This resulted in the division of the Gaṅga kingdom, Pṛithvīpati I ruling the southern portions with Taḻakāḍu as the capital. In this family dispute the Bāṇas sided Pṛithvīpati I. In the northern portion Rāchamalla I ruled as an heir-apparent with his father, in the beginning and later independently from *c.* 816 A.D.

The Bāṇas appear to have taken advantage of the decline in the power of the Gaṅgas and occupied the Gaṅga-6000 territory even prior to the accession of Rāchamalla II. The Bowringpet inscription[217] of this period attests to Bāṇa rule over this region.

One of the two records[218] of Mahābali Vāṇaraiyar from Karshanapalle, Punganur taluk refers to his rule over Gaṅga-6000 (*Gaṅgarusāsira*), when the Ballaha attacked Kāḍuveṭṭi in order to exact tribute from the latter. It further records that at that time when the servant (name not given) of Bāṇa-Taṭṭaran, who was himself a servant of Vijayitta (Bāṇa Vijayāditya) was on his way back to his village, a certain Gaṇamutti attacked him and Bāṇa-Taṭṭaran was killed in the fray. This record may be assigned to the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. on grounds of palaeography.

The Ballaha that figures in this record can be identified with Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III. But who is the Kāḍuveṭṭi mentioned? 'Kāḍuveṭṭi' is an appellation borne by both the Noḷaṁbas and the Pallavas. But in the present context the Kāḍuveṭṭi has to be identified with the Pallavas, for, the name Kāḍuveṭṭi occurs in an inscription of the Bāṇas who are known to be the feudatories of the Pallavas. Further, it may be noted that the Noḷaṁbas were on inimical terms with the Bāṇas. It is clear that the Rāshṭrakūṭa met the Kāḍuveṭṭi in the Bāṇa territory. The Pallava with whom Gōvinda III fought was probably Dantivarman. We know from the British Museum plates that Gōvinda III vanquished the Pallavas who had joined a confederacy of kings against him.[219] Probably the Pallavas did not remain submissive to the Rāshṭrakūṭas too long after their debacle in the hands of Gōvinda III. Gōvinda probably undertook another expedition to overcome the Pallavas and collect tribute from them.

A Kannaḍa record in characters of the 9th century from Vanamaladinne states that, during the reign of Mahābali Vāṇarasa over Vaḍugavaḷi-12000 and Gaṅga-6000, a certain hero named Amaḷar Kittaṇṇaṇ, son of Tārāra-Dharmmada-mēṇṭi, fought with the Vaiduṁba chief who attempted to lift the cattle and died.[220] This Mahābali Vāṇarasa is identified with Vijayāditya I.[221] It is probable that in the course of carving out territories for themselves the Vaiduṁbas and the Bāṇas entered into hostilities against each other.

At this juncture we may review the record from Rāyakōṭa in Dharmapuri district. This Kannaḍa record, in characters of early 9th century, refers to the rule of Mahābali Bāṇarasa and mentions his 4th year.[222] The record states that this Bāṇarasa proceeded against Maṇṇe on behalf of Gaṅga (*Gaṅgagāgi*) when a Vaiduṁba attacked. Vāṇarāju defeated him. The inscription records the death of a hero Kīrttilamma-raṭṭarasa, the ruler of Tēkalnāḍu-20 in the battle. This inscription confirms the inimical relations that the Bāṇas had with the Vaiduṁbas. The fact that the Bāṇa proceeded against Maṇṇe shows that Maṇṇe was then under the control of either Rāchamalla I or Baṅkēśa and that the Bāṇa proceeded against it on behalf of Pṛithivīpati I.

Vijayāditya I, 'the best of the just rulers', is described in the Udayēndiram plates as one who scattered a host of opponents and before whom the enemy, seized with great fear, did not stand on the field of battle.[223]

Vijayāditya appears to have ruled over the western and eastern regions of Chittoor district as indicated by the provenance of his inscriptions. Vijayāditya appears to have ruled till *c.* 845 A.D. He was succeeded by Malladēva of whom there is a record at Chippili which records a grant of land to an individual named Eṟeyaṇ.[224]. A record from Proddaṭūr refers to a Vikramādittaṇ as the son of *Kulantāṅgiya Perumānār*.[225] This Vikramādittaṇ may probably be identified with Vikramāditya I Bāṇa-Kandarppaṇ,[226] son and successor of Malladēva to whom the epithet Kulantāṅgiya Perumānār will apply.[227] An explanation of this epithet may be given in the light of the Dharmapuri record.[228] This record furnishes an interesting information about the treachery played by the Noḷaṁbas against the Bāṇas in a bid to overcome the latter. The Noḷaṁbas had allied themselves with the Gaṅgas of the collateral line upholding the cause of Rāchamalla and naturally they had antagonised the Bāṇas, who at this period were superior in strength to that of the Noḷaṁbas and their allies. The Noḷaṁbas in order to overcome the numerically superior Bāṇas chose to befriend them first and then attack them in an unguarded moment. This strategem devised by the Noḷaṁbas appear to have been successful. The Noḷaṁbas came as far as Dharmapuri and in the fight that ensued the Bāṇa king lost his life. It is apparent that the Noḷaṁbas scored a victory over the Bāṇas in this battle. They captured the Gaṅga territory occupied by the Bāṇas.

The Noḷaṁba occupation appears to have continued for sometime since the Bāṇa country was in a state of utter confusion after the death of the Bāṇa king. The Bāṇa queen who was enceinte at the time of her husband's death was rescued and she gave birth to a child. The infant was proclaimed as king and the Bāṇa army thereupon fought with the aggressor and drove the Noḷaṁbas from out of their territory. The name of the Bāṇa king who lost his life in the battle with the Noḷaṁbas is not easy to determine, since the inscription itself is silent on this point. We know from an inscription[229] at Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga dated Śaka 775 (=853 A.D.) that Noḷaṁba Poḷalchōra I ruled as far as Kāñchi. Since Dharmapuri lay on the way to Kāñchi, it is quite probable that it was the same Noḷaṁba Poḷalchōra I who attacked the Bāṇas. If so, this event should have taken place between 845 and 853 A.D. The Bāṇa king who lost his life was probably Malladēva. Thus the epithet *Kulantāṅgiya-perumānār* may be applied to Malladēva, as he had helped the continuance of the Bāṇa family by producing a worthy son and successor and by sacrificing his life in the defence of his territory.

Malladēva succeeded Vijayāditya in *c.* 845 A.D. The earliest reference to Vikramāditya I who succeeded Malladēva is found in a record of Pallava Nandivarman III dated in the latter's 17th regnal year corresponding to 863 A.D.[230] Hence, we may surmise that the Noḷaṁba attacked the Bāṇa soon after the death of Vijayāditya and that Malladēva lost his life very soon after his accession. Although the Bāṇas recovered soon and overthrew the Noḷaṁbas, they had to wait for sometime till 863 A.D., to have a ruler on the throne who could independently manage the affairs of the state. Vikramāditya I was born in *c.* 846 A.D., soon after the death of his father. Vikramāditya is known from another inscription from Avilāla in Chandragiri taluk dated in the 21st (twenty-first) year (867 A.D.) of Kōviśaya Nandivikkiramaparmar, identified with Nandivarman III.[231]

In the Guḍimallam inscription of Pallava Nṛipatuṅga, dated in the 24th year (=883 A.D.) of his reign, Vikramāditya is called *Vāṇavidyādhara.*[232] The Gulgānpoḍe inscription of Vikramāditya Jayamēru also mentions him with a similar title.[233] Evidently the Vāṇavidyādhara figuring in the inscription of Nṛipatuṅga and Vikramāditya[234] is identical with Vikramāditya I Jayamēru. N.L. Rao has assigned the period from 828 A.D. to 870 A.D. to Vikramāditya I.[235]

Bāṇavidyadhara married Kundavvai *alias* Vāṇamahādēvi, daughter of Pṛithivīpati I.[236] We know that Pṛithivīpati I (*c.* 853 A.D.) was a contemporary of Amōghavarsha I[237] and Nṛipatuṅgavarman.[238] Therefore this Bāṇa king was a junior contemporary of Gaṅga king Pṛithivīpati I.

Vikramāditya Jayamēru witnessed several battles which ultimately led to Pṛithivīpati I being over-thrown by Rāchamalla I and his successor Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga. All through this war Pulināḍu was the target of attack by the Gaṅgas and the Noḷaṁbas.

During the period of Vikramāditya I Noḷaṁbas claim to have occupied it.[239] The Bāṇas, on the other hand, held the Gaṅga-6000 territory, on behalf of Prithivīpati, who was staying in Pulināḍu. The Noḷaṁba Poḷalchōra, as is seen in the chapter on the Noḷaṁbas also claims to be ruling over Gaṅga-6000 region.[240] This was because he wanted to repulse the Bāṇas from the region. With that intention the Noḷaṁbas also attacked Pulināḍu to divert the attention of the Bāṇas. The Kāpalle inscription in Kannaḍa characters of the 9th century refers to an attack by a Mahārāja on Chemma[ṁ]gūru, during the reign of Mahābali Vāṇavidhyādhara over Vaḍugavaḷi-12000 and Gaṅga-6000.[241] A Bāṇa hero named Ponnapudali Māṇikka-mēṇṭi fought against the Mahārāja and died. It is not clear who the Mahārāja was. Chemma[ṁ]gūru may be identified with Cheṁbakūru, north west of Puṅganūr.[242] This Mahārāja seems to be a local chief for the fight between him and Māśarasa (Māśarayya) from the same place is mentioned in the records of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kannaradēva.[243]

When the enemies laid siege to the village Vanamaladinne and lifted the cattle, Nāgila Mūlagundura, son of Mūlagundura, by not allowing them to take away his cattle fought in the battle that ensued and lost his life.[244] It may be pointed out that probably the Noḷaṁbas might have besieged the Bāṇa village Vanamaladinne. Therefore, Mahābali Bāṇarasar of this inscription is probably to be identified with Vikramāditya I of the Kāpalle inscription. This identification does not militate against the palaeography of the Vanamaladinne record. One[245] of the inscriptions in Kannaḍa characters of 9th century A.D. from Būḍidapalle from Punganur taluk records that a certain Mūdhudāragoṇa-mēṇṭi of Minikki destroyed Kuṟunjeāḷe and taken the cows from that village. During this fight one Periyavan fell and another hero named Keḷāmūddan, (both from the Bāṇa camp) was pierced and put to death. Another inscription almost of the same characters, which records the death of one Ālamāran *alias* Kelemūḷdan in the course of the attack on the same place (Kuṟujjiyaḷa or Kuṟuñjeāḷe) by a certain Mūdūnda of Minki belongs to the reign of a Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa.[246] The Bāṇa king of this inscription is identical with Mahāvali Vāṇarājan Vikramāditya Bāṇakandarppan of the Būḍidapalle record, for, we find the same event is recorded in both the inscriptions. The chiefs of Miniki probably rushed to Kuṟuñjeāḷe to oppose the Noḷaṁbas who invaded Pulināḍu. It is not clear whether Kuṟuñjeāḷe was attacked before they proceeded against Miniki or while returning from Miniki. Kuṟuñjeāḷe or Kuṟujjiyaḷa can be identified with Kirujāla situated west of Puṅganūr, not far away from Miniki. As the village Miniki has been given as *bālgaḷchu* to the deceased Bāṇa hero by one and the same king, it is difficult to say that the chiefs from Miniki are the defectors of the Bāṇas. It is however obvious that Miniki in Pulināḍu was in the hands of the Bāṇas.

Another fight between the Bāṇas and the Noḷaṁbas occurred at Miniki in the reign of Vāṇavidhyādhara *i.e.*, Vikramāditya I in the course of the Noḷaṁba attack on Pulināḍu. In the course of this attack a Bāṇa chief Dēveya, son of Kandaḷiga Peṁgaṁga, who was sent to repel the Noḷaṁba attack, fought with the invading forces and lost his life.[247] As Vikramāditya I Jayamēru reigned for a period of about twenty-five years from 863 A.D. his Noḷaṁba contemporary could be none other than Mahēndra (I), even though the latter's earliest record is dated a decade later, for we know that his father Poḷachōra (I) probably ceased to rule after his Bāṇa contemporary Malladēva. The fight between the Bāṇas and the Noḷaṁba Mahēndra continued. During the reign of Vikramāditya I, some of the forces of Kāḍuveṭṭi attacked Māvindiūr, the identity of which is not known. The chief Dogarāja, under the orders of prince Prabhumēru proceeded against the enemy and killed them. When the Bāṇa army could not drive away the Kāduveṭṭi forces the Bāṇa king himself proceeded and attacked them.[248] As mentioned earlier the No̤ḷaṁba contemporary of Vikramāditya Jayamēru was Mahēndra. Therefore Kāḍuveṭṭi who invaded against the Bāṇa may be identified with No̤ḷaṁba Mahēndra.

An inscription from Kurapalle records the death of Mudūḍan after killing the enemies and capturing the cows of Pudali-oḍeya in a battle fought at Palpaḍuvu between Vikramāditya Vāṇarasa and Kaṇṇakuriya.[249] The hostile chief Kaṇṇakuri has been identified with a member of the Gaṅga family Jayatēja.[250] If this identification is accepted, one has to suppose that there was Gaṅga intrusion into the Bāṇa territory. Evidences are, however, lacking to admit this hypothesis. When the Bāṇa hero took away the cows from Pūdali, the same as Būdili, in Hindupur taluk, it might have resulted in conflict between the No̤ḷaṁbas and the Bāṇas at Palpaḍuvu in the No̤ḷaṁba territory itself near Būdili. Then the chief Kaṇṇakuri might have been from the No̤ḷaṁba camp. The above epigraph in Kannaḍa language and script may palaeographically be assigned to late 9th century.

The Bāṇas seem to have attacked the No̤ḷaṁba country as a countermeasure of the latter's invasion made on Pulināḍu. In fact, the No̤ḷaṁbas were successful in their attempt to capture the enemy garrisons before the Bāṇas could attack the fort of Sōremaṭi. Besides this, the enemies were able to launch upon other strategic places. The Bāṇas in turn made attempts to capture the No̤ḷaṁba force. A soldier serving under prince Vijayāditya named Nīlagaṇḍan, the son of Muṇḍan, belonging to Māṟili-taṭṭaṟar, died after capturing the fort of Ariyapaḷḷi.[251] The prince Vijayāditya who despatched the Bāṇa forces and who is referred to as the son of Mahāvali Bāṇarasa is identified with Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru, for we know from the Gulgānpōḍ record that the prince Prabhumēru assisted his father Vikramāditya against Kāḍuveṭṭi, *i.e.*, the No̤ḷaṁbas. Again, we hear of an attack of the Bāṇas joined by Perumānaḍigaḷ on the No̤ḷaṁba, Rāchamalla and their allies which resulted in a battle at Māndāvuda, the identity of which however is not known.

Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa, *i.e.*, Bāṇavidhyādhara, was ruling over Vallam, which lies to the west of Vaḍugavaḷi (*Vaḍugavaḷiyin paḍuva*) and to the east of Maṇṇe (*Maṇṇeyin mūḍe*). His rule over Gaṅgarusāsira is not disclosed by the Chaḍalla record.[252] The Bāṇas might have partly lost this province as a result of the No̤ḷaṁba invasion led by Mahēndra probably at the end of his reign. An inscription of this Bāṇa king from Balla in Mulbagal taluk quotes this regnal year. It is apparent from this record that he had control over the region around Mulbāgal.[253] It may, however, be pointed out that he was the most powerful among the Bāṇas, for we know that in his reign, the Bāṇa power reached its zenith. He quotes his own regnal year 2. This shows that the Pallavas, at least temporarily lost hold over the Bāṇas. But it is difficult to fix this period of independent rule of the Bāṇas.

The protracted struggle between the Bāṇas and the No̤ḷaṁbas finally resulted in the Sōremaṭi event.[254] The records of No̤ḷaṁba Po̤ḷalchōra's son Mahēndra do not mention Rāchamalla II as his overlord. It has been suggested, that Mahēndra began to govern the Gaṅgarusāsira region, as a feudatory of Nītimārga, probably towards the end of latter's reign. Mahēndra's earliest known date is Śaka 800 (=878 A.D.). In an inscription from Dharmapuri[255] dated in the same year we get a reference to a Noḷaṁba. He is probably identical with Mahēndra. Mahēndra seems to have extended his territories far and wide subjugating all his enemies.[256] From this record at Dharmapuri it may be suggested that he extended his kingdom far into the south-east by 878 A.D. (Viḷaṁbi year). It is not known how far his claim over Gaṅgavāḍi-96000 in his inscription at Dharmapuri[257] is reasonable. In the absence of dated records earlier than Śaka 800 (=878 A.D.) the date of the Baragūr record,[258] it is difficult to determine the exact date when he ceased to recognise the Gaṅgas as overlords. The suggestion of Krishna Sastri that on a date before 878 A.D., Mahēndra had become independent, on the basis of the title borne by him seems to be lilttle doubtful.[259] An inscription in the Bowringpet taluk of Kolar district,[260] states that Mahēndrādhirāja was ruling the Gaṅgarusāsira province. Unfortunately, this record is not dated. Also out of the two records from Dharmapuri, the one dated does not mention the name of the king, while the other is not dated. All these inscriptions do not give us any clue to know when exactly he assumed sovereign or independent status.

N.L. Rao's[261] assessment that during the time of Rāchamalla II, Mahēndra was not on friendly terms with the Gaṅgas, based on the Noḷaṁba-Rācheya Gaṅga fight in 892 A.D. referred to in Iggali record[262] is not correct. It has already been said that before the crowning of Būtuga I around 886 A.D. by his elder brother Rāchamalla II, we have no records either of the Gaṅgas or of the Noḷaṁbas to indicate their inimical relationship. Therefore it is more probable that Rāchamalla who took part in the Sōremaṭi battle was Rāchamalla II, instead of Rāchamalla I as suggested by N.L. Rao and correspondingly his Noḷaṁba contemporary was Mahēndra and not his father. So the Noḷaṁbas appear to have owed their allegiance to the Gaṅgas upto the time of the Sōremaṭi battle. This would lead us to infer that Mahēndra not only acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gaṅgas in the earlier part of his reign but also joined them to drive out the Bāṇa and his allies. By virtue of this act he had an opportunity to meet the aggressors when they made an attack on his territory with the whole hearted support of the Gaṅgas.

The Permānaḍi on whose behalf the Bāṇas met the enemy forces on several occasions and finally at Sōremaṭi can be identified with Pṛithivīpati I. According to R.S. Panchamukhi as Pṛithivīpati I, who supported the cause of Pallava Aparājita lost his life in the fight against Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa at Śrīpuraṁbiyam, the struggle was continued in the period of his son Nanniya Gaṅga[263] who met the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla II[264] and his allies. In the Gōribidnūr inscription,[265] one Nanniya Gaṅga described as son (*maga*) of Pṛithvīpati, is found fighting on behalf of Aṇṇiga Bīra Noḷaṁba against the Sāntara chiefs.[266] R.S. Panchamukhi accepts the statement in the aforesaid inscription *ad-verbatim* and believes that Pṛithvīpati I had a son named Nanniya Gaṅga. This view, it may be noted, is based on the identification of Pṛithvīpati which requires some reconsideration. Only one son of Pṛithvīpati I is well-known from inscriptional sources. In the absence of other corroborative evidences, it is difficult to accept the statement that Pṛithvīpati I had a son named Nanniya Gaṅga. Further, Pṛithvīpati I died by 880 A.D. in the Śrīpuraṁbiyam battle and we do not know who succeeded him. In the absence of any direct evidence to the continuance of the struggle to the Gaṅga throne continued by the successor of Pṛithvīpati I, we are tempted to believe that the struggle initiated by Pṛithvīpati I came to an abrupt end after his death and that he was followed by a weak successor in about 880 A.D. who was probably Mārasiṁha, figuring in an inscription from Takkōlam dated 894-95 A.D. of the reign of Chōḷa Rājakēśarivarman (identified with Āditya I)[267] and in the Udayēndiram charter of Pṛithvīpati II. In the Takkōlam inscription of the aforesaid Rājakēśarivarman, the donor Pṛithvīpati-aṟaiyar is mentioned as a son of Māṟamaṟaiyanār. It is possible to identify this Māṟamaṟaiyaṉ with Mārasiṁha, son of Pṛithvīpati I, mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates. In which case, Pṛithvīpati I had a son Mārasiṁha and not Nanniya Gaṅga.

If we accept the statement that Nanniya Gaṅga fought for Noḷaṁba and the identification of Pṛithivīpati with Pṛithivīpati I, then it would be difficult to explain the cause for the friendship between the Noḷaṁba and Nanniya Gaṅga, whose father was on inimical terms with the former. Therefore, it is difficult to accept R.S. Panchamukhi's view. According to Panchamukhi, Nanniya Gaṅga fought with the Noḷaṁba, who is to be identified with Vīra Noḷaṁba. They would thus be contemporaries. But, it is not correct, for, we know that Vīra Noḷaṁba came to the throne as late as 925 A.D.[268] By this time Pṛithivīpati II had come to the Gaṅga throne. Pṛithivīpati (II), it may be noted, was a vassal of Parāntaka I. Further it is not known whether Pṛithivīpati II had a son named Nanniya Gaṅga, who fought either against or on behalf of the Noḷaṁbas.[269] The conclusion of Panchamukhi that Nanniya Gaṅga took part in the Sōremaṭi battle against the Noḷaṁba-Rāchamalla group is not acceptable. Nor is it possible to accept the date of the battle as 885 A.D.

It is well-known from the Udayēndiram plates that Vikramāditya had a son Prabhumēru. The Guḍimallam plates reveal the fact that Vikramāditya had a son Vijayāditya by name. In the inscriptions of Vikramāditya I, Prabhumēru is found associated with him in the wars against the Kāḍuveṭṭi forces. The identity of Vijayāditya with the crown prince Prabhumēru is also confirmed by an inscription from Puṅganur[270] which gives his full name as Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru. In the light of this inscription Vīrachūḷāmaṇi who is referred to in the Noḷaṁba inscription will have also to be identified with Vijayāditya II-Prabhumēru.

He succeeded his father Vikramāditya-Jayamēru and ruled over Vaḍugavaḷi-12000 and the east of Maṇṇe.[271] During the reign of this king Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttaṟaśar raided Kōyāttūr. Since we know that Pulināḍu (in which Koyāttur was included) was earlier attacked by the Noḷaṁbadiyaraśa who sent Kāḍuveṭṭi and Mṛiḍuva to burn the city of Bermāvi[272], it is not impossible to identify this Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttaraśa with the Noḷaṁba king. As has been already stated, the Noḷaṁba king who undertook this raid was Poḷalchōra, subordinate of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla I and Nītimārga. That Kōyāṟṟūr is same as Laḍḍigam is already stated. It is apparent that Mahēndra who attacked Puli-nāḍu in the reign of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara[273] attacked again in the reign of his successor Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru. Thus the fight between the two powers went on during the period of Vīrachūḷāmaṇi. But the Bāṇas seem to have survived the onslaughts of Noḷaṁba Mahēndra. We hear of Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru ruling as late as 909 A.D. from a number of his inscriptions. Mahēndra's claim in his Dharamapuri inscription dated Śaka 815 (=893 A.D.) as the destroyer of *Mahābalikula* (*Mahābalikula-vidhvaṁśana*) seem to be an exaggerated account, in the light of Vijayāditya's latest date Śaka 831 (=909 A.D.) known from inscriptions. N.L. Rao has opined that Mahēndra should have destroyed either Malladēva or Vijayāditya I before the beginning of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara's reign. But both these Bāṇa kings ruled in a period earlier to Mahēndra's accession. Hence, it is doubtful whether the Noḷaṁbas had grown yet powerful enough to rout the Bāṇas once for all during this period.

After the Sōremaṭi battle Vijayāditya II was able to rule with less pressure on his kingdom either from the Noḷaṁba or Gaṅga. We know that Vikramāditya I ruled upto 883 A.D. as a subordinate of the Pallava king. Subsequently, Vijayāditya II seems to have declared his independence as his records are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord. It is interesting to note that an inscription from Tiruvallam, of a Mahābalivāṇarāja gives the Śaka date 810. This Bāṇa king is probably identical with Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru for his inscriptions cite dates from Śaka 820 onwards.[274] It may be surmised, therefore, that Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru was the first Bāṇa king known to have ruled independently. His father is mainly known from the inscription of his Pallava overlord whose regnal years he quotes. Therefore, it may be suggested that the earliest date of Vijayāditya II is probably Śaka 810 (=888 A.D.).[275]

The invasion of Vīrachūḷāmaṇi's territory and the burning of Bermāvi by Noḷaṁbadiaraśa and his chiefs has been fixed in a period earlier to the reign of Mahēndra. Again this poses a question as to who was the ruling Bāṇa king during this period. In the light of Gulgānpōḍe inscription recording that Prabhumēru associated himself with his father Vikramāditya I, probably as the crown prince, it may be explained that Vīrachūḷāmaṇi in a similar capacity fought back against the Noḷaṁba army.[276] According to N.L. Rao, the Noḷamba attack on Pulināḍu is a sequel to the annexation of the Bāṇa territory. He argues that Pulināḍu was at this time in the possession of the Noḷaṁbas on the basis of the existence of the Noḷaṁba record at Kalakaṭṭūr which was in Pulināḍu. The attack was made rather to ease the Bāṇa pressure on Taḷakkāḍu than to divert the attention of the Bāṇas. If this was an attempt by the Noḷaṁbas to retain the status of independence after the death of Mahēndra, then it must have been made by his brother Noḷaṁba Noḷipayya. The aforesaid view suggested by N.L. Rao, is out of question as the Noḷaṁbas during this period had strained relationships with the Gaṅgas.

The raid on Kōyāṟṟūr by Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttaraśa should have taken place before 895 A.D., the last known date of Mahēndra (Noḷaṁbādhirāja) from Tāyalūr record, for he was powerful till about this date.[277] When he tried to assert his independence, during the end of his reign, Gaṅgas could not tolerate it and consequently constant struggle between Mahēndra and the Gaṅga prince Būtuga took place. In the Kūḍalūr plates[278] and Kādalūr plates[279] of Mārasiṁha II, Būtuga claims to have defeated Mahēndra, as Vishṇu did Mura, in the battles of Hiriyūr, Sūṟūr and Sāmiya. Earlier in the Keṟegōḍa-Raṅgāpura plates of Rāchamalla II, Būtuga is described in glorious terms as "*Paritāpita-Pallava-sat-kulōtkaraḥ*."[280] This Pallava king who was chastised by Būtuga I in the battle of Sāmiya may probably be identified with the Noḷaṁba Pallava Mahēndra. Ultimately the valour of Mahēndra appears to have been curbed by Būtuga's son Eṟegaṅga II who killed him in a battle.[281]

Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru, son of Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ *alias* Māraka[ni]mmaḍigaḷ[282] has been assigned the Śaka dates *viz.*, 820 (=898 A.D.) and 827 (=905 A.D.)[283] on the basis of the Guḍimallam inscription. Further an inscription from Rāmakrishṇarājupēṭa in Tiruttani taluk refers to one Vijayāditya-Vāṇarāya.[284] This king may be identified with Vijayāditya II on account of the similarity of characters with the Guḍimallam inscriptions dated 898 and 905 A.D.[285] Evidently Bāṇa Vidhyādhara, his father, had two queens *viz.*, Kundavvai *alias* Bāṇamahādēvi[286] and Mahādēvi Aḍigaḷ *alias* Māraka[ni]mmaḍigaḷ.[287] The Manigaṭṭu Gollahaḷḷi inscription from Mulbagal taluk furnishes the last known date for Vijayāditya II *viz.*, Śaka 831 (=909 A.D.).

From the provenence of these records it may be inferred that during the period of Vijayāditya II, Bāṇas were ruling simultaneously over the Pulināḍu and the eastern portions of Chittoor district. Venkayya while editing the inscriptions from Guḍimallam had suggested that the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II who succeeded Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru must have assumed the leadership of the Bāṇas towards the close of the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II.[288] According to the Udayēndiram plates one Vikramāditya is stated to have been ruling over the Bāṇa territory. Kielhorn identified him with Vikramāditya II, whose rule might have commenced from *c.* 909 A.D.[289] Hultzsch while editing the Guḍimallam plates correctly identified him with Vikramāditya III Vijayabāhu, who courted friendship with the Rāshṭrakūṭa (*Kṛishṇa*). An examination of the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛithvīpati II reveals that Parāntaka I uprooted by force two Bāṇa kings, besides defeating a Vaiduṁba ruler and thereupon conferred the dignity of 'the lord of Bāṇas' on the Gaṅga king, Hastimalla.[290] It may not be wrong in identifying these two Bāṇa rulers with Vijayāditya II-Prabhumēru and his son Vikramāditya II. For, we know that during this period Pṛithvīpati II is already referred to under the title *Śembiyaṉ Mahāvaḷivāṇarāya* in an inscription from Puḷḷamaṅgai[291] dated 913 A.D. *i.e.*, the sixth year of Parāntaka I. This implies that Parāntaka I by defeating the aforesaid Bāṇa kings before 912 A.D., probably conferred the title on the Gaṅga who might have helped him in his conflict against the Bāṇas.

It would be significant to examine the rule of Śeṁbiyaṉ Mahābalivāṇarayar who figures as a vassal of Parāntaka I in his sixth year. The Tamil portion of the Udayēndiram plates of Maduraikoṇḍa-Parakēsari dated in his fifteenth year[292] establishes the identity of Śeṁbiyaṉ Mahābalivāṇarāyar and the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithvīpati who assumed the title *Bāṇādhirāja* by stating that Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati earned the title together with the Bāṇa territory for his services. Pṛithvīpati has been identified with Pṛithvīpati II, for we know that he was an ally of the Chōḷa king and a junior contemporary of Āditya I,[293] as the Shōliṅgūr record mentions that this Hastimalla won in a battle at Vallāla identified with Vallam *i.e.*, Tiruvallam and assumed the title of his overlord Vīrachōḷa.[294] It is not impossible that he assisted his suzerain in the latter's campaigns in the north. The claim made in the Udayēndiram charters indicate that by 912 A.D. itself Parāntaka I wrested the Bāṇa territory and handed it over to Pṛithvīpati II.

It is interesting to note that the Bāṇa inscriptions found in the Punganur taluk do not furnish any specific reference to the names of the Bāṇa rulers. Therefore, the identification of Māhāvalibāṇaraśa of some of the records found at Peddavelagaṭūru,[295] Karshanapalle,[296] Chalamaṅgala,[297] Eṁbāḍi[298] and Pudupaṭla[299] is not easy. But these inscriptions can be fixed in the reign of Vikramāditya III as has already been stated. The Bāṇas seem to have disappeared from the political scene [temporarily] after 912 A.D. From the inscriptions of Peddavelagaṭūru from Punganur taluk, we hear of one Bālasōma bhaṭāra administering the area during the reign of Mahāvali Bāṇarasa. It is not known whether Bālasōma-bhaṭāra of the inscription under review can be identified with a donee of the same name mentioned in the Noḷaṁba inscription of Noḷaṁbādhirāja probably identical with Iriva Noḷaṁba Noḷipayya (*c.* 898 and 918).[300] Apart from the palaeography and the similarity of the names we have no other evidences for the above identification. Unfortunately, the details *viz.*, month Pushya, Jupiter in Makara are not sufficient to calculate the date of the record. These details are not unlikely to correspond to dates in the reign of both Noḷaṁba Noḷipayya, brother of Mahēndra and Iriva Noḷaṁba Dilīpa (*c.* 940-67 A.D). However, it is not impossible to identify the Bāṇa king of the Peddavelagaṭūru record with Vikramāditya II, if the Bālasōma-bhaṭāra of the Bāṇa inscription is the same as the one figuring in the Noḷaṁba record.

The next Bāṇa king known from the Udayēndiram plates is Vijayāditya-Pugaḷvipparagaṇḍa.[301] Since the Bāṇas were overthrown by the Chōḷa king Parāntaka, who entrusted the Bāṇa territory to his subordinate Pṛithvīpati II, it is difficult to postulate the reign of Vijayāditya III. This can be attested by the absence of his inscriptions in the Pulināḍu region. The Bāṇa interregnum as stated above seem to have continued till about 940 A.D. when Kṛishṇa III entered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam with his powerful forces. An inscription from Tiruchchānūr mentions Vijayāditta whose identity is not clear. If he can be identified with his namesake among the Bāṇas, it is probable that he may be either Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru or Vijayāditya III Pugaḷvipparagaṇḍa. The identification of Vijayāditta presumably as a Bāṇa king with Vijayāditya Prabhumēru is possible in preference to Vijayāditya III in view of the fact that the Bāṇas were relegated to the background and lost their territory to the Gaṅga king by 912 A.D. It is already known that Vijayāditya II's last date was 909 A.D. and so he cannot be Vijayāditya II. In the case of identification with Vijayāditya III, it may be suggested that the Bāṇas seem to have availed the opportunity of Parāntaka's absence in this region in the second quarter of the 10th century A.D. This is testified by the absence of his inscriptions from the fifteenth to the twentyfourth regnal years of his Chōḷa king, particularly in the northern parts of the Chittoor district.

Vijayāditya III was succeeded by Vikramāditya III. A Bāṇa record found at Parumāḷnallūr in Tiruttani taluk dated in Śaka 8[6]2 (*in words*) (=940 A.D.) refers to a Bāṇa king Vikramāditya.[302] He is probably identified with Vikramāditya III who by 940 A.D. might have retained the ancestral dominion lost to the Chōḷas early in the reign of his grandfather, possibly with the support of Kṛishṇa III. This Vikramāditya III is referred to in the Udayēndiram plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya, as *a dear friend* of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa (*Kṛishṇarājapriyaḥ*).[303] The queen of Vikramāditya Ma[hābali]vāṇarāya is described as the niece (*marumagaḷā*[*r*]) of a certain Ummadarayar, whose identity is not known. It is significant to note that a Bāṇa king is referred to as *a ruler of Aniyasthānam* in a hero-stone from Sennivāykkāl.[304] Venkatasubba Ayyar has identified the ruler of this inscription with Nandivarman III and further suggested that it is a re-engraved record. The Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar mentioned as the Bāṇa suzerain has been identified with Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda Nandivarman III. In fact the title *Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda* was not assumed by Nandivarman III as there was no occassion for him to take part in the battle at Teḷḷāṟu. As the Nandivarman of this inscription was a junior contemporary of Parāntaka I and a contemporary of Ariñjaya, he cannot be identified with Nandivarman III. Therefore, it may be suggested that Nandivarman IV who assumed the title *Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda* seems to have been the overlord of this Bāṇa king. The Bāṇa king of this record in turn may be identified with Vikramāditya III Vijayabāhu.

By *Aniyasthānam* it is meant that Bāṇa Vikramāditya III was in control of the regular Bāṇa territory for the inscription under the review is found outside the Bāṇa country and moreover far away from it in the south. It is not impossible to state that in the course of Kṛishṇa III's southern expedition, the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya, as a vanguard of his army might have undertaken a raid on this place.

GENEALOGY OF THE BĀṆAS

Bali

Nandivarman, Jayanandivarman
(*c*. 782-83—792 A.D.

Vijayāditya (I) (*c*. 793—845 A.D.)

Malladēva, *Vadhūvallabha* Malladēva-Nandivarman
(*c*. 845-46 A.D.)

Vikramāditya I Jayamēru, Vikramāditya

md

Vāṇavidyādhara, Vikramāditya
Bāṇakandarppan
(*c*. 846 - 883 A.D.)

1. Kundavvai *alias* Bāṇamahādēvi
2. Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ *alias* Mārakanimmaḍigaḷ

Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru
(888 A.D.—909 A.D.)

Vikramāditya II (*c*. 909-912 A.D.)

Vijayāditya-Pugaḷvipparagaṇḍa
(second quarter of the 10th century A.D.)

Vikramāditya III Vijayabāhu (*c*. 940 A.D.)

THE NOLAMBAS

The Noḷaṁbas descended from the family of Trinayana-Pallava of Īśvara-vaṁśa.[305] They are described as Noḷaṁba-Pallavas in their records. That the Noḷaṁbas were connected with the Pallava family is evident from their names like Siṅgapōta (Siṁhapōta) and Mahēndra which were borne by the Pallavas.

In the course of several conflicts between the major powers for supremacy in South India, the Noḷaṁbas played a prominent part by supporting the different sides and changing their allegiance too. We hear of the Noḷaṁbas for the first time in the 8th century A.D.[306] probably when the Pallava power in the north was waning as a result of the constant struggle with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They seem to have carved out a small principality for themselves around Heñjēru *i.e.*, modern Hēmāvati.

The original habitat of the Noḷaṁbas was Noḷaṁbaḷige-1000[307] which comprised portions of the Anantapur, Chitaldroog and Tumkur districts with Heñjēru on the bank of the river north Peṇṇār as their capital.[308] The rivers Peṇṇār and Hagarī, which flowed respectively on the east and western sides, formed the natural boundaries of their land. By their frequent conquests and annexations of the neighbouring countries they were able to gradually expand their Noḷaṁbaḷige-1000 into a bigger tract described in the records as Noḷaṁbaḷige-32000. This might have taken place around the 9th century A.D. in which period the Noḷaṁba power was at its zenith. It is also known from the records of the adjoining territories that in addition to Noḷaṁbavāḍi, often times other divisions like Kadambaḷige-1000, Kogali-500, Ballakumde-300, Kaniyakallu-300, Kudiharavi-70, Karevīdi-30 and Māśeyavāḍi-140 and Sindavāḍi-1000 came under their sway.[309]

An inscription on a pillar at Dharmapuri in Dharmapuri district, gives the names of 3 generations of Noḷaṁba kings namely Pallavādhirāja, born of the Pallavas, his son [No] [ḷaṁ*]-[b]ādhirāja and his son Mahēndrādhirāja Noḷaṁba. This record[310] belongs to the reign of the last mentioned king and is dated Śaka 815 (=892 A.D.). The Hēmāvati record[311] gives a genealogical account of the family besides the kings mentioned above commencing from Trinayana Pallava to Dilīpa. This record dated Śaka 864 (=943 A.D.) refers to the reign of Dilīparasa. It also gives the names of three more kings of this family after Mahēndra I, *viz.*, Nanniga Ayyapa, Aṇṇiga and Dilīparasa.

The earliest inscription of the Noḷaṁbas so far known from Chittoor district is of a Noḷaṁbadiyaraśa. This is the undated record from Kalakaṭṭūr in Punganur taluk.[312] The Noḷaṁbadiyaraśa of this inscription has been identified by R. Shama Sastri and N.L. Rao with Mahēndra I on grounds of palaeography. It records that this Noḷaṁba chief ruling Gaṅgarusāsira, marched against Taḷakāḍu. Kāḍuveṭṭi and Mṛiḍuva of the army of Mahēndra invaded Pulināḍu, captured and burnt the city of Bermāvi. On hearing this, Bīrachūḷāmaṇi started with his army and successfully encountered their forces. In the serious confusion created at that time by a number of chiefs (*nāyakas*), Tējamāni, the servant of Nayamalla fought heroically and lost his life. In appreciation of his valour, the Noḷaṁba ruler (*araśar*) gave as *kalnāḍu* the village Kalaelemaṇḍala, situated in his own territory.

This record has been examined above, in detail while dealing with the Vaiduṁbas. It has been shown therein that the Noḷaṁba figuring there was Poḷalchōra, husband of Jāyabbe, the daughter of Gaṅga Rāchamalla I and sister of Nītimārga Ereganga.[313]

The Noḷaṁbas, it may be noted, were at first the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Their feudatory status under the Rāshṭrakūṭas is attested by the inscriptions from Challakere[314] wherin Chāruponnēra also called Pallavādhirāja, is stated to be a subordinate under one Jagattuṅga Prabhūtavarsha Akālavarsha. This latter is identical with Gōvinda II. There is not sufficient evidence to know how long they continued under the tutelage of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Probably they might have functioned as feudatories till the advent of Amōghavarsha I. The end of Gōvinda III's reign witnessed a change in the power politics among the southern ruling families.

In the Gaṅgavāḍi, there had been a conflict between the members of the main as well as the collateral branch for power. Śivamāra II had made over his territories to his younger brother Vijayāditya who, however, passed it on to his son Rāchamalla I.[315] Pṛithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II, whose rightful claims had been ignored, naturally sought the assistance of other neighbouring powers, to get his dominions. We have seen that several ruling families big and small, took part and formed themselves into groups. The Bāṇas upheld the cause of Pṛithvīpati I who was supported also by the Pallavas.[316] The Noḷaṁbas, on the other hand, stood beside Rāchamalla I. Poḷalchōra Noḷaṁba, son of Chāruponnēra married Jāyabbe, the daughter of Rāchamalla. The Gaṅga king, like his senior uncles, also desired to be independent of the Rāshṭrakūṭa control. The feudatory status of the Noḷaṁbas under Rāchamalla is known from an inscription at Ālbūr[317] which may be assigned to the period of Rāchamalla I, since Poḷalchōra figuring in the inscription was his contemporary.

In an inscription at Āvaṇi in Kolar district[318] Divabbarasi (Divalabbarasi) is stated to have been Poḷalchōra's *agramahishi i.e.*, the senior queen. But as seen above Jāyabbe, the Gaṅga princess had married Poḷalchōra.[319] It is therefore clear that Divalabbarasi of the Kadamba family was another queen. It is well-known from the inscriptions at Dharmapuri and Hēmāvati[320] that Mahēndra was the son of Poḷalchōra I by his queen Jāyabbe. He had another son, Iṛiva-Noḷaṁba by the Kadamba princess (*puṭṭida magam*) Divalabbarasi. She was looking forward to her son coming to the throne. It appears that Divalabbarasi acted as a regent of Iṛiva Noḷaṁba (her *kaniyanandana*), when he was a boy and when Mahēndra ascended the throne. Though Mahēndra was the son of Jāyabbe, Divabbarasi calls herself the *jananī* of this king. As she was not the uterine mother of Mahēndra, the term *jananī* used with reference to Mahēndra seems to have been employed as a conventional term to denote the relationship between the step-mother and step-son.[321] In this connection the identification made by G. N. Saletore[322] regarding this Divalabbarasi has to be noted. On the basis of Kambadūru record[323] of Poḷalchōra, Karshanapalle inscription[324] of Mahēndra and Nelapalle epigraph of Iṛiva Noḷaṁba, this scholar states that Divalabbarasi was the queen of Poḷalchōra and mother of Mahēndra II. But N.L. Rao and H. Krishna Sastri have shown that Divalabbarasi of the Āvaṇi record is the wife of Poḷalchōra I and mother of Iṛiva Noḷaṁba I.[325]

The Maḍivāḷa record[326] states that on the orders of Noḷaṁbādhirāja who was ruling over Gaṅga-6000, Pompalla Mādeya described as Beṅgaḍanātha, engaged the forces of Bāṇarasa in a battle and died after a heroic fight. It states that in appreciation of his valour, Permmānaḍi and Noḷaṁbādhirāja are stated to have granted Sūṟūru as *bāḷgaḷchchu.* The Noḷaṁbadhirāja of this Gaṅga record has to be identified with Poḷalchōra I.

That Poḷalchōra had thus gained in strength becomes all the more clear from the Dharmapuri record[327] which has been discussed in connection with the account of the

Bāṇas. This record refers to the treacherous way in which the Noḷaṁbas befriended the Bāṇa, annexed the Gaṅga territory which was in the hands of the Bāṇa and killed him. The Noḷaṁba of the Dharmapuri record has been identified by us with Poḷalchōra.

All these activities of the Noḷaṁba were in support of the Gaṅga cause. The Bāṇas who had aligned themselves with the Gaṅgas under Pṛithvīpati had annexed the Gaṅga territory on his behalf. The Noḷaṁba on his part assisted the Gaṅga in repulsing the Bāṇa attack and reconquering the territories lost by the Gaṅgas.

Poḷalchōra continued to accept the suzerainty of the next Gaṅga ruler Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga.[328] Poḷalchōra's sway extended as far as Kāñchi during the reign of his overlord Eṟegaṅga *i.e.*, Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga (*c.* 853 - *c.* 870 A.D.).

Mahēndra, the son and successor of Poḷalchōra was the most powerful king of the Noḷaṁba family. He is described as *Tribhuvana-dhīraḥ*, *Lōka*[*ru*]*ndrō Mahēndraḥ*, *Viṭ-bhūpāla-mauḷipraṇata-pada-yugaḥ*, *Kāmadhēn-ūpamānaḥ* etc.[329]

He inherited that part of Gaṅgavāḍi which was being ruled by his father. But after sometime, he embarked on a policy of expansion of his dominions. Naturally, he frequently came into conflict with the Bāṇas whose territory lay adjacent to his own. From the Būḍidepalle record we come to know of the Noḷaṁba aggression into the Bāṇa territory. A battle took place between the two forces at Miniki.[330] It is quite possible that Mahēndra I might have attacked the Bāṇa territory in the course of such expansionist activities. But the record clearly indicates that Mahēndra did not succeed in his effort against the Bāṇas.

In his Dharmapuri inscription dated Śaka 815 (= 892 A.D.) Mahēndra I claims to have destroyed the Bāṇa race (*Mahābali kulavidhvaṁsana*). This statement cannot be accepted in all its entirety. We know that the contemporary Bāṇa kings of Mahēndra I were Vikramāditya I and Vijayāditya II, who were very powerful and who appear to have ruled uninterruptedly. So Mahēndra's claim of destroying the Bāṇa race has to be understood in a relative sense. Possibly, Mahēndra I might have scored victory over his Bāṇa adversary[331] in some battle. For, we know that the Bāṇas and the Noḷaṁbas under Mahēndra I fought many a battle before they firmly faced each other in the famous battle field of Sōremaṭi.

The Sōremaṭi battle was fought between the Bāṇa and the Noḷaṁba who had upheld the cause of Pṛithvīpati I and Rāchamalla II respectively.[332] The Bāṇa, as already seen above, was supported by the Vaiduṁba. So far as the battle itself is concerned, it proved to be of no use to the Noḷaṁba. We have already seen that the Sōremaṭi battle has not been referred to in the Noḷaṁba or the Gaṅga records. We have also shown that the battle must have been fought sometime after 872 A.D.

One important outcome of the battle is the estrangement or relationship between the Gaṅgas of the collateral line and the Noḷaṁbas. Rāchamalla II had by then commenced to rule. The Kūḍalūr, Kādalūr grants of Mārasimha II and Keṟegōḍu-Raṅgāpura plates of Rāchamalla II[333] indicate this strained relationship. The fact that the record refers to the kings of Kaliṅga, Āndhra, Dramiḷa among others as having been defeated in the Sāmiya battle-field where one of the Gaṅga opponents was Noḷaṁba Mahēndra himself clearly indicates that by then Mahēndra had come to be recognised as a foe rather than a friend.

This is more due to the ambition of Mahēndra himself who having realised that the

Gaṅgas leaned upon him heavily, slowly ignored them and attempted to declare his independence and expand his dominions.[334] Rāchamalla was ably assisted by his younger brother Būtuga whose victories over Mahēndra I in the battles at Hiriyūr, Sūrūr and Sāmiya are described in the Kūḍalūr plates[335] and Kādalūr plates.[336] Although the battles between the Gaṅgas and the Noḷaṁbas were long drawn out and spread over years, the final victory. was that of the Gaṅga. Nītimārga Eṛegaṅga is described as *Mahēndrāntaka* (?). Mahēndra had to ultimately lose his ground and it is likely that he died fighting. Ayyapa (*c.* 900 A.D.) succeeded Mahēndra. A record of Iṛiva Noḷaṁba Dilīparasa from Hēmāvati dated Śaka 864 (= 942 A.D.) states that he bore the title *Nannigāśraya* and was an 'adept in diplomacy' (*vidita-naya*).[337] In the Chittoor district we do not have any of his records. It is not possible to say whether any part of this area was under his effective control. Ayyapa seems to have contracted matrimonial alliance with the Gaṅgas by marrying the Gaṅga princess Pollabbarasi[338] and the Gaṅga-Noḷaṁba friendship was restored.

Ayyapa was succeeded by his son Aṇṇiga who bore the title *Vīra Noḷaṁba.*[339] During the period of Aṇṇiga there was rivalry for the throne between Rāchamalla III and Būtuga II,[310] sons of Eṛegaṅga II. This provided an ideal opportunity for Aṇṇiga to establish his independence. A hero-stone inscription from Hiranandi in Heggadadevanakote taluk assigned to 10th century records the death of four heroes, sons of Korantiyarasa of Nindi, in a battle fought at Māguṇḍi by the five *sāmantas* (*aysāmanta*) and *perggaḍes* against Bhuvanāditya, who is stated to have come to Bayal-nāḍ, after the death of Eṛeyappa (Nītimārga Eṛegaṅga) hoping that the junior (*kiṛiya*) Rāchamalla would give him half the territory and treasury over which he was ruling. We know that his younger brother Būtuga II overthrew this Rāchamalla III and killed the latter with the help of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. It has been surmised[341] that Bhuvanāditya approached Rāchamalla on behalf of Būtuga II pleading for partition of the kingdom.

Aṇṇiga (*c.* 925 A.D.) was very powerful and his inscriptions are found in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh and in Dharmapuri district of Tamil Nadu.[342]

An inscription from Vanamaladinne in Punganur taluk assignable to 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds[343] records that when Noḷaṁbadi-arasa was ruling the country and Pṛithvīpati-arasa governing the territory (*nāḍu*), a hero named Kāḍakuṭṭi, the son of Mūlagundurar died during an attack on Eḍeyūru. The identification of Noḷaṁbadi-arasa and Pṛithvīpati-arasa mentioned in the aforesaid inscription poses some interesting problems. N.L. Rao and H. Krishna Sastri have identified Noḷaṁbadi-arasa and Pṛithvīpati-arasa respectively with Poḷalchōra or his successor Mahēndra I and Pṛithvīpati I. This identification is *prima-facie* out of question.[344] We know that Prithvīpati I and the Bāṇas were on friendly relationship, while the Noḷaṁbas being the allies of the *main* Gaṅga line of kings were inimical to him. Hence, it is difficult to postulate that Pṛithvīpati I ever ruled under the Noḷaṁba tutelage. Secondly, the inscription in question is found in the heart of the Bāṇa territory, *i.e.*, Pulināḍu. At the time of Poḷalchōra or Mahēndra I, the Bāṇas were powerful and Pulināḍu never came under the sway of the Noḷaṁbas.

Since Pṛithvīpati-arasa referred to in the Vanamaladinne record cannot be identified with Pṛithvīpati I, we have necessarily to identify him with Pṛithvīpati II. It is known from the inscriptions of Puḷḷamaṅgai and Shōliṅgūr that Parāntaka I conferred on Pṛithvīpati II the title of *Sembiyaṉ Mahāvali Bāṇarasa* and the rulership over the Bāṇa territory, *i.e.*, Bāṇavāḍi.[345] The Noḷaṁbadiyarasa under whom Pṛithvīpati II was ruling Pulināḍu can be identified with Aṇṇiga Bīra Noḷaṁba whom we know, was a powerful king that tried to assert his independence.

Another inscription from Dēsidoḍḍi[346] assignable to the 10th century mentions a Noḷaṁba and records the death of Dōramma and Puḷḷiyamma, brother of Pṛithvīrāma-śeṭṭi, sons of Balimūrkha-gāvuṇḍa while defending Eḍeyūru and the grant made in memory of the deceased. It is interesting to note that in this and the Vanamaladinne records Eḍeyūru figures as the target of attack. The Noḷaṁba of the Dēsidoḍḍi record may conveniently be identified with Noḷaṁbadiyarasa of Vanamaladinne record, *i.e.*, Aṇṇiga Vīra Noḷaṁba. It is quite likely that both the records refer to the same event.

The struggle for succession in the Gaṅga country soon came to an end. The Gaṅga throne was occupied by Būtuga II. In getting the Gaṅga throne Būtuga II was very much helped by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III, who defeated Aṇṇiga. The Deoli copper-plate inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 862 (= 940 A.D.)[347] mentioning the last date of Aṇṇiga states that Aṇṇiga was reduced to a miserable plight. It is quite possible to infer that Aṇṇiga lost his kingdom as well.

Aṇṇiga was succeeded by his brother Iṟiva Noḷaṁba Dilīparasa around 940 A.D. We have no inscriptions of this king in Chittoor district. It is quite possible that this region was not under his control. Instead we find a number of inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I,[348] ranging from his 31st year (937-38 A.D.) to 48th year (= 954-55 A.D.) which testifies the fact that Chittoor region was at that time under the occupation of the Chōḷas. The Chōḷas lost hold over this region soon after the Takkōlam battle[349] when Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III distributed his newly conquered southern territories to his various feudatories. As already seen, above parts of Chittoor region were entrusted to the care of the Vaidumbas, who acted as the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and that may account for the absence of the Noḷaṁba records in the area during short periods, till the advent of Mahēndra II.

It is not known under whose control Chittoor area was after Kṛishṇa III. It may be noted, however, that at Karshanapalle we have a record of Mahēndra II. It gives the genealogy of Mahēndra from Iṟiva-Noḷaṁba (Dilīparasa) and records that the king went to Noḷaṁbavāḍi from Chōḷanāḍu and while camping at Kōḷāla (Kōlar) he bestowed on Noḷaṁba-gāvuṇḍa, son of Kīrtti-gāmuṇḍa, the village Beḷagaṭūru of Pulināṭṭakeṟe.[350] The record is undated, but is in characters of the last quarter of 10th century A.D. falling in the reign period of Mahēndra II.

Vīra Mahēndra's military expedition to Chōḷanāḍu referred to in the aforesaid inscription has not been highlighted so far. With the exit of Kṛishṇa III from the political scene by *c.* 967 A.D., the Rāshṭrakūṭa power in the south declined considerably. Khoṭṭiga, who succeeded Kṛishṇa III was not a strong ruler like his father. The erstwhile feudatories began to assert their independence. The Noḷaṁbas also appear to have thrown off the Rāshṭrakūṭa hegemony and this is supported by the absence of any reference to the imperial overlord in the inscriptions of Nanni Noḷaṁba (*chaladaṅkakāra*), Poḷalchōra II and Vīra Mahēndra II. They continued to remain independent till 981 A.D.

The Eastern Chāḷukya kingdom witnessed the attack by the Eastern Gaṅga king Kāmārṇava, who deposed Dānārṇava.[351] This was followed by struggle for succession between Dānārṇava and Amma II, son of Bhīma II.[352] In this period of turmoil the Telugu Chōḍa king Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma, son of Jaṭā Chōḍa led an attack against Vēṅgi possibly to support Amma II, whose sister he had married. It may be noted that the Vaidumbas, the inveterate enemies of the Noḷaṁbas were the feudatories of Dānārṇava as evident from an inscription at Kāñchīpuram. Since the powers in the south were interested in the Vēṅgi region, it is possible to infer that the Noḷaṁbas might have joined in it and supported the cause of Amma II. Therefore the Noḷaṁba king Vīra Mahēndra II's march to Chōḷanāḍu as referred to in the inscription under review has to be viewed in the light of his participation in the Vēṅgi succession dispute. The Chōḷanāḍu may be identified with Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa territory which was at that time under the effective control of Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma the most powerful king of that period whose territory extended as far as Kāñchī in the south.

The next Noḷaṁba king after Vīra-Mahēndra II is referred to in the inscriptions from Nelapalle[353] and Māgaṇḍlapalle[354] in Punganur taluk. These records in Kannaḍa characters of late 10th century A.D. belong to Iṟiva-Noḷaṁba Ghaṭēyaṅkakāra, who is referred to in the record as a younger brother (*tamma*) of Ekavākyadēva or Vākyadēva. Obviously, Vīra-Mahēndra II had two sons, Ekavākyadēva and Iṟiva-Noḷaṁba Ghaṭēyaṅkakāra.

These two records refer to Iṟiva Noḷaṁba's encampment at Vendūṟu-Ponne in Paṟuvi-nāḍu (probably the area round Paṟigi in Anantapur district). The Nelapalle inscription refers to the title *Mummaḍigavaṟe Pallavāditya Noḷaṁbaseṭṭi* and the royal insignia (*rāja-chinna*) like horse (*kudure*), umbrella (*koḍe*), *āḷapanṭuvake*, whisks (*kuñcha*), *taḷige, kīḷviṭṭa*, shield (*aḍḍaṇige*) and lands (*gaddige*) conferred on a merchant (Baḷigāra) Karavayya, son of Gavaṟṟseṭṭi of Kōyatūru (same as Laḍḍigam). The town Koḷatūra, also called Pallavādityapuram in Pulināḍu was granted to him as a *Vaiśyadatti* in recognition of his services.[355] The other inscription from Māgaṇḍlapalle mentions a similar royal honour and the title Pallavāditya Noḷaṁba conferred on one Baśavayya, son Māgara Bīḷane-gāvuṇḍa besides the village Nāgekuṇṭe being granted as a *koḍaṅge* to him.[356]

It has been held by some scholars that Vākyadēva and Iṟiva-Noḷaṁba Ghaṭēyaṅkakāra are identical.[357] This is due to a faulty reading of Nelapalle record when *ātana magam* was read as *Amōgha* and Vākyadēva was hence considered as Amōghadēva. Shri N.L. Rao[358] had, on the other hand taken Vākyadēva as the son of Mahēndra II while Iṟiva-Noḷaṁba Ghaṭēyaṅkakāra figures, in his genealogy as Vākyadēva's younger brother. This is as it should be, based upon the reading in the Nelapalle record and clearly shows that Mahēndra II had a son Vākyādēva (who is called Ekavākyadēva in the Māgaṇḍapalle record) whose *tamma*, *i.e.*, younger brother was Iṟiva-Noḷaṁba Ghaṭēyaṅkakāra.

An inscription from Kañchagara Beḷagullu[359] belonging to the reign of Chāḷukya Āhavamalla Taila II dated Śaka 903 (= 981 A.D.) refers to Rēvalādēvi, as the queen of Ekavākya Vīra-Noḷaṁba. This person is, obviously identical with Ekavākyadēva or Vākyadēva, the son of Vīra-Mahēndra II, who figures in the records discussed above. This identification is supported by palaeography.

By the last quarter of the 10th century great changes had taken place in South Indian political arena, the later Chāḷukyas and the Chōḷas emerging as the most powerful rulers. The Noḷaṁbas under Mahēndra II were independent; but they could not retain that position. Taila II had now subdued most of the chiefs including the Noḷaṁbas also followed suit.

THE WESTERN GAṄGAS

Of the inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas in the Chittoor district, the earliest is from Karshanapalle in Punganur taluk. It refers to Pṛithvīpati as the younger brother of Durvinīta[360] (*Durvinītana tamma Piḷduvīpati*) and records the making of the images of the *parivāradēvatas* by Śivarāśi-bhaṭāra during the former's reign. It is also stated that Śivarāśi-bhaṭārar ran three oil-mills for (the benefit of) the temple (probably of the *parivāra-dēvatas*). We know that Durvinīta, son of Avinīta, who ruled in the 6th century had a younger brother whose name, however, is not known. But the characters of the present record are much later than those of Durvinīta. The record may be assigned to the 8th century when Pṛithvīpati, son of Śivamāra II was ruling parts of Gaṅgavāḍi. Hence we will have to surmise that Pṛithvīpati had an elder brother named Durvinīta. We know that Mārasiṁha was an elder brother of Pṛithvīpati I. We cannot say whether this Durvinīta was elder to Mārasiṁha. Since Durvinīta is otherwise unknown and is not associated with the governance of any region, it is likely that he was younger to Mārasiṁha and died a premature death. It may be noted that this Durvinīta has been identified with Mārasiṁha.[361] This is however not supported by any evidence.

Another inscription from the same place belonging to Pṛiduvayya identified with Pṛithvīpati records the death of a hero. The record refers to a battle involving the Pāṇḍya and the Chōṟa (Chōḷa).[362] Pṛithvīpati I is well-known to have been an ally of Pallava Aparājita, the adversary of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II, the Pāṇḍya. Hence, Pṛiduvayya of the record may be identified with Pṛithvīpati I. In that case, this record will have to be placed sometime later than 862 A.D. the date of Varaguṇa's accession.[363] Varaguṇa's inroad into the north as far as Araiśūr on the banks of the Peṉṉai in South Arcot district is attested too by the epigraphs from Tiruvadi and Ambāsamudram.[364] It is possible that Varaguṇa II marched further north in this campaign, which he would have undertaken on behalf of his ally Pallava Nṛipatuṅga against Aparājita.

Yet another inscription from Karshanapalle refers to Āvabbe, the queen of Pṛithuvayya,[365] who is none else than Pṛithvīpati I. This king is known to have had a queen Kundavvai, the daughter of Bāṇa Vikramāditya Jayamēru.[366] Āvabbe is yet another queen of Pṛithvīpati I.

Pṛithvīpati I had an encounter with the Pāṇḍya around this region in the wake of which he advanced deep into the south as far as Tiruppuṟambiyam (Śrīpuṟambiyam),[367] where he lost his life in the course of defending Aparājita against Varaguṇa II. The mention of Chōḷa in the Karshanapalle record noted above seems to confirm the alliances among the Chōḷa, the Pallava and the Gaṅga. The record, however, does not mention the Pallava, the third ally.

An inscription from Mōdugalapalle in Punganur taluk records the death of Rāman-Aramēru, the brother of Dōsiyarasa after undauntedly fighting against the enemy's flank in a battle that ensued, when Koṅguṇi-arasa lead an expedition against Pulināḍu.[368] It is in Kannaḍa language and characters of the third quarter of 9th century A.D. The Gaṅga king, who undertook this raid may be identified with Nītimārga Eṟegaṅga (*c.* 853-70 A.D.) (*vide : section on Vaiduṁbas*).

It is not improbable that Mārasiṁha, the son of Pṛithvīpati I continued to rule over his father's dominions though we do not have any inscription in support of this.

Pulināḍu comprising Punganūr and parts of Madanapalle taluk is known to have been ruled by Pṛithvīpati II, the son of Mārasiṁha. The Bōḍināyanipalle record[369] refers to the rule of a Permāḍi, obviously a Gaṅga. This record is in characters of early 10th century and Permāḍi mentioned herein may be identified with Pṛithvīpati II, whose earlier known date *viz.*, 894-95 A.D. is available from Takkōlam.[370] This inscription mentions Mayimana Pallavareyar (Pallavaraiyar)[371] who figures therein as the governor of Pulināḍu. It registers the death of Rācha, a soldier of Baḷatūru in a cattle-raid at Maṅgala, same as Maṅgalam in Punganur taluk. Another governor of Pṛithvīpati who probably succeeded Pallavaraiyar, was Pallava Dhavaḷa.[372] In his period a cattle-raid led by a person called Saṅgila occurred at Maṅgala, in the course of which Udayasūṟe lost his life. Yet another inscription assignable to the 10th century also refers to this governor Pallava-Dhavaḷa. It records the death of Kumbura Muṇḍaya at Mānandimaṅgala in the course of rescuing cattle captured by Dāmaraśa at Iḍeyūru. It is apparent that the hero had to follow the enemy Iḍeyūru to Mānandimaṅgala in order to rescue the same.[373]

It is known that Chōḷa Parāntaka I after having destroyed the two Bāṇa kings conferred the title *Śembiyaṉ Mahābali Bāṇarasa*[374] and the Bāṇa territory on Pṛithvīpati II, who was his staunch ally, in recognition of his services. A record from Vanamaladinne[375] refers to the rule of this Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa (Pṛithvīpati II) over Bāṇavāḍi-12000. Another inscription from Karshanapalle[376] belonging to the reign of Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa, *i.e.*, Pṛithvīpati II refers to his son Vikkiyaṇṇa's (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya's) governorship of Pulināḍu-sixty. It records the death of Vikki, who is obviously different from Vikkiyaṇṇa. The opponent that figures in this record is Pallava-Dhavaḷa. We have seen above that a Pallava-Dhavaḷa figures as a governor of Pulināḍu under Pṛithvīpati II. The two persons are probably identical. We know that at this period, the Noḷaṁbas were on inimical terms with the Gaṅgas. It is possible that for some unknown reasons Pallava-Dhavaḷa, the Gaṅga feudatory was dislodged from the office. Consequently he might have joined the Noḷaṁba and raided Pulināḍu with which area he was quite familiar. All these events will have to be placed in a period before 931-32 A.D. which is the 24th year of Chōḷa Parāntaka I. Later, however, we find Pṛithvīpati himself extending hands of friendship to Aṇṇiga Bīra Noḷaṁba. The statement made in another Vanamaladinne record that while Noḷaṁba-diarasa was ruling the earth, Pṛithvīpatiarasa was ruling the nāḍu supports this.[377] The Noḷaṁbadiarasa of this record has been identified with Aṇṇiga Bīra Noḷaṁba. (*vide : discussion on Noḷaṁbas*).

We do not hear of any other Gaṅga king of this line after Pṛithvīpati II. A Gaṅga king of a different line is referred to in an inscription from Śīvāḍi[378] in Punganur taluk. This record in Kannaḍa characters of late 10th century A.D. mentions a Rakkaśa Gaṅga as the ruling king. During this period the area contiguous to Śīvāḍi (Śīyavāḍi) in Srinivaspur taluk was being ruled over by Rakkasa Gaṅga-Rāchamalla, who has been identified with Rāchamalla IV *c.* 983 (= 1024 A.D.).[379] This was the period when Chōḷa Rājarāja I was yet to expand his control over this area and when the Chāḷukya Taila II was also active on this front. Rakkaśa Gaṅga Rāchamalla IV may, therefore, be considered to have been ruling independently on the date of this record.

THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS

Two inscriptions from Kāpalle in Kannaḍa characters of about the 9th century A.D. belong to Kaṇṇaradēva. The first records the death of Tigaṭi Muttaraśa, the servant of Māsarasa, son of Lōkarasa of Semmagūru, when a Mahārāja attacked him and land was granted at Būdali as a *koḍaṅge* to his memory to Māda Muttarasa, son of Kēta Muttarasa and grandson of the deceased hero.[380] The other inscription mentions that on the occasion of an attack on the village (*i.e.*, Kāpalle) by one Mahārāja, Māsara[yya], son of Lōkeya[raśa] of [Cha]mmagūru fought in the company of twenty men (companions) and died in the fight. The sculpture on the hero-stone is said to have been the work of Vikramāditya Bahuguṇatēja of Kōyātūr.[381] It is obvious that the parties mentioned in the two records as fighting each other are identical.

Mahārāja, who is said to have attacked Māsarasa in both the inscriptions is apparently the same as Mahārāja of Chemmagūru referred to in an inscription from Kāpalle[382] belonging to Mahāvali Bāṇavidhyādhara who is no doubt identical with Vikramāditya I. It is stated in the latter inscription that this Mahārāja of Chemmagūru[383] attacked Ponnapudali Mā[ṇi]kkamēṇṭi, who lost his life in fighting against him in the course of rescuing his cattle.

It is therefore clear that all these three inscriptions from Kāpalle will have to be placed in the same period. From the known period of Bāṇavidhyādhara, *i.e.*, the last quarter of 9th century, Kaṇṇaradēva of the other two records from Kāpalle should be identified only with Kṛishṇa II. As for Kṛishṇa II's presence in this area it is well-known that, as a result of the matrimonial alliance between Kṛishṇa II and Āditya I, the former intervened on behalf of Ādityaṉ Kaṉṉaradēvaṉ during the reign of Parāntaka I, and got defeated in the battle of Vallāla in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.[384] Hence these two inscriptions may be considered to be a direct evidence of the extension of Krishṇa's hegemony in the Chittoor district.

Parts of Chittoor district came under the sway of Chōḷa Āditya I and Parāntaka I, when the Rāshṭrakūṭas were yet to turn their attention to the south. It was only in 949 A.D. during the reign of Parāntaka I that we hear of the entry of the Rāshṭrakūṭas into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam under Krishṇa III.[385] Kṛishṇa's occupation of Chittoor is directly attested to only from his 22nd year, *i.e.*, 960-61 A.D. We know from the Karhaḍ plates[386] of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 880 (= 957-58 A.D.) that soon after the battle of Takkōlam in 949 A.D. which spelt disaster to the Chōḷa power, he claims to have restored the ancestral dominions to the various subordinates such as the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas etc., who were reeling under the weight of the immense power of the Chōḷas. It is possible therefore that Krishṇa III was virtually in control of these parts even far earlier than the date referred to above (*i.e.*, 960-61 A.D.).

One of the two inscriptions mentioned above refers to Vajradēva as the governor of Śīyapāḍi in Pulināḍu.[387] It is obvious that Vajradēva also called Vajjaladēva was virtually ruling over Pulināḍu in the same capacity according to an inscription from Bōḍināyanipalle dated in Śaka 88[6](=963-64 A.D.).[388] During his governorship, Maṅgala which is the same as Maṅgalam to the north-west of Puṅganūr was the target of attack in the course of cattle raids conducted mostly by unspecified enemies. However, one inscription from Bōḍināyanipalle in Punganur taluk refers to Gaṇḍarōḷgaṇḍa Pallavaraiyar as capturing the cows of Maṅgala.[389] *Gaṇḍarōḷgaṇḍa* was possibly an epithet of a Chōḷa king who could be the only enemy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa regime in the Chittoor district. Gaṇḍarōḷ-gaṇḍavadi, a road referred to in a Chōḷa inscription,[390] is considered to have been so named after Sundara Chōḷa. It is evident therefore that the series of events[391] recorded to have happened during the governorship of Vajradēva under Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III were the result of the attempts on the part of the Chōḷas to regain their influence in the north. These events will have to be placed sometime before and after Śaka 88[6] (= 963-64 A.D.). The earliest date of Vajradēva will be the 22nd year (960-61 A.D.) of Krishṇa III available in the inscription from Śīvāḍi in Punganur taluk.[392]

The series of events referred to above centred around Maṅgala. Another place called Uppanelli identified with a place of the same in Punganur taluk was also the scene of conflict between the same parties,[393] *i.e.*, between Chōḷas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. The epigraphs at this place record the deaths of *gāvuṇḍas*, merchants and heroes etc., in the course of the battle.

One of the inscriptions bearing on this battle speaks of the death of a native of Toṇḍaināḍu, thus confirming the identity of the enemy with the Chōḷa. Śrī-Ballaha [dē*]va[394] mentioned as the overlord of Vajradēva in one of these inscriptions dated in Śaka 887 (= 964-65 A.D.) may be identified with Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

CHŌḶAS OF TANJĀVŪR

Āditya I and His Times

The earliest reference to the Chōḷas in Chittoor occurs in an inscription of Dantivarman dated in the 51st year (846-47 A.D.) of his reign.[395] It records a grant made by Śōḷanār Ulagapperumāṉār of Śōḷanāḍu. This Śōḷanār, as the very name indicates, seems to have belonged to the Chōḷa family. But he does not appear to be connected in any way with the imperial Chōḷas. The fact that he figures in a record of Pallava Dantivarman suggests that he was a subordinate of the Pallava. These Pallavas had their hold over this region till the accession of Vijayālaya to the Chōḷa throne in *c.* 850 A.D.,[396] when the Pallava power slowly waned, making way for the Chōḷas. His presence at Tiruchchāṉūr as a donor does not however help us to decide whether he had any status locally in this area.

The next Chōḷa record in the region is from Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr. This record belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I (*Maduraikoṇḍa kōparakēsari*) and is dated in his 34th regnal year corresponding to 940-41 A.D.[397] It registers a gift of gold for feeding thousand devotees by Vāgīśvara-paṇḍitabhaṭāra to the god Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara made over to the *sabhā* and *nagarattār* of the *paḷḷipaḍai i.e.*, the sepulchral shrine of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. It would therefore appear that he (the donor) was probably a temple priest or religious head. From the name Ādityēśvara given to the diety, it has been surmised that it is in honour of the Chōḷa king Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I that this temple was so named. Since it is referred to as a *paḷḷipaḍai*, it has also been thought that Āditya, who also bore the title *Kōdaṇḍarāma*,[398] died in this place.[399] However, we do not have any other evidence to point to Āditya's activities in this region, although atleast during his last few years of rule after killing Pallava Aparājita,[400] he seems to have been tarrying in this area.[401] The circumstances that led to his death in this place, far away from his capital in the Chōḷa country are not clearly known. It is not improbable that he had to face some enemy probably the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who has just then moving towards the south. This Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region had just then been seized by Rājakēsari Āditya from the Pallavas.[402]

Parāntaka I and His Times

During the reign period of Parāntaka I (907-55 A.D.) the successor of Āditya I, we find greater parts of the Chittoor region brought under Chōḷa hegemony. This indicates that Parāntaka I pursued successfully his father's policy of expansion by occupying the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Till his 31st regnal year[403] (937-38 A.D.), Parāntaka held an indomitable position. However, we find that thereafter there was a set back.

The table below indicates the distribution of his records in the district :

Area of Distribution	*Findspot and Taluk*	*Regnal year of Parantaka I (Maduraikoṇḍa ko-parakēsari)*	*Reference to Publication*
1. Western parts of Chittoor district	Mahādēvamaṅgalam, Chittoor taluk	24 930-31 A.D.	*A.R.Ep.*, 1931, No. 170.
	Kaṭṭamañchi, Chittoor taluk	31 937-38 A.D.	*Ibid.*, 1907, No. 61.
	Vanamaladinne, Puṅganūr taluk	48 954-55 A.D.	*Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 200.
2. Central parts of Chittoor district	Tiruchchāṉūr, Chandragiri taluk	2 908-09 A.D. (*note* : It is doubtful whether the regnal year given in the record is 2 or 20)	*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No: 287 ; T.T.*D.I.* Vol. I, No. 13/234 G.T.
	Tiruchchāṉūr, Chandragiri taluk	29 935-36 A.D.	*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 286.
	Tiruchchāṉūr, Chandragiri taluk	32 938-39 A.D.	*Ibid.*, No. 290.
3. Eastern parts of Chittoor district	Guḍimallam, Kalahasti taluk	32 938-39 A.D.	*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 524.
	Toṇḍamānāḍ, Kalahasti taluk	34 940-41 A.D.	*Ibid.*, No. 529.

As stated above the Chōḷa influence appears to have slowly diminished in this area after Parāntaka I's 31st regnal year (937-38 A.D.) and it was progressively diminishing from the west towards the east. It is possible that Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III's entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in 949 A.D.[404] was heralded by the extension of the influence of the minor dynasties such as the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas etc. It is well-known that Chōḷa Parāntaka I antagonised these feudatories in such a way that they might have attached themselves to the bandwagon of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Though the inscriptions of the Vaidumbas and the Rāshṭrakūṭa began to occur only later on, the Bāṇa inscription from Tiruchchāṇūr assignable to about 940 A.D. in the reign of Vijayāditya Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍaṇ[405] points to the future trend of the alignment of political forces against the background of Rāshṭrakūṭa instrusion. This explains the absence of Parāntaka's records after his 32nd year (938-39 A.D.) in the central and western parts of Chittoor district. In this context, we have to consider the existence of Parāntaka's record of his 48th regnal year (954-55 A.D.) at Vanamaladinne, in the western part of Chittoor district. This inscription[406] records the gift of land by Śivarayya while he was ruling over Pulināḍu in memory of a certain Pollayya who died during the destruction of the village Eḍeyūru. Though the enemy is not mentioned in this record, it is obvious that peaceful conditions did not prevail in this area. It cannot be explained in any other better way than by surmising that it was only a feeble attempt on the part the Chōḷas to regain the western parts of Chittoor district and that they stationed Śivarayya, a local nominee of the Chōḷas as the governor of Pulināḍu in 954-55 A.D. It could have been only a fleeting raid with no lasting effects. For, very soon after this we find Krishṇa's records commencing to appear in this region.[407]

The Chōḷa could not have had any permanent hold over this area till Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.) came on the scene. The reason for the loss of Chōḷa influence during this period was obviously the defection of Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II *alias* Śembiyaṉ Mahābalivāṇarāya to the side of the Noḷambas, the allies of the Rāshṭrākūṭas.

It may be incidentally noted here that an undated Kannaḍa record from Bōḍināyanipalle,[408] Punganur taluk, assigned to *c.* 9th-10th centuries A.D., refers to a certain Chōḷa-mahārāja ruling over Pulināḍu-sixty, (*Pulināḍ-aṟuvattuman-āḷe*) when a cattle raid took place. This inscription records the great victory of Kaliyanna, the son of Palleyagāmuṇḍa, the headman of Mēḻikuṟuvi and son-in-law (*aḷiya*) of Būdali Ponnayya of Maṅgala in a cattle raid. The place Maṅgala mentioned in the record may be identified with Maṅgalam, north-west of Puṅganūr in Punganur taluk. It is not possible to identify the Chōḷa-mahārāja, in the absence of any other distinguishable epithet or such other details. R.S. Panchamukhi has opined that he was a Telugu-Chōḷa since Pulināḍu is said to be under him now. But this Chōḷa-mahārāja may as well be Parāntaka although it is difficult to explain, in that case, why only Pulināḍu-sixty is referred to. Under the circumstances the record has to remain unexplained until further evidence is forthcoming.

A solitary record from Pudupet, a hamlet of Nagari, Puttur taluk records a gift of sheep for burning a perpetual lamp daily in the temple of Kaṟaikkaṇḍar at Kurichchaṇūr. The deity referred to in the record as Kaṟaikkaṇḍadēvar is now called Karakaṇṭēśvara in whose temple the inscription is engraved. It is possible, therefore, that Kurichchaṇūr is the same as modern Pudupet, the findspot of the inscription.[409]

It is interesting to note that the donor describes himself as *Kuṉṟavattaṇa-kōṭṭattu*

Pāṅgaṟanāḍu-uḍaiya-Adiyaraiyar Araṇili magaṉ Dantiyaṉ.[410] He is named Dantiyaṉ and was the son of Adiyaraiyar Araṇili, the chief of Pāṅgaṟanāḍu. The record is dated Śaka 876 (= 954-55 A.D.). The chief does not refer to any overlord. The date falls in the last year of the rule of Parāntaka I, whose Vanamaladinne[411] record of the 48th regnal year (954-55 A.D.) has been referred to above. The question that arises is why this chief does not refer to any overlord, although the date falls in a period when Parāntaka's record itself, of the same date is found. 954-55 A.D., is incidentally the last year of Parāntaka I, although even about this there are differences of opinion.[412] It would therefore, appear that the donor of the present record issued the same independently taking advantage of the set back of the Chōḷa power. This record is found in the south-eastern region of the Chittoor district, while Parāntaka I's record of the 48th year is found in the western region.

During this period, the Bāṇas under Vijayāditya Pugaḻvipparagaṇḍa and Vikramāditya Vijayabāhu, the friend of Kṛishṇa III had extended their sway as far upto Tiruchchāṉūr, about 20 miles west of the findspot of the inscription.

This area (the south-eastern region) appears to have been a no-man's land, atleast on the date of the record, when the Chōḷas had withdrawn and the other powers had not yet established their sway in this region. Not much, however, can be made out of this record.[413]

The Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion of the Tamil country under Kṛishṇa III had rudely shaken the Chōḷa's hegemony. Though we do not find Rāshṭrakūṭa records in the eastern parts of Chittoor district we do not also find Chōḷa records anywhere in the area. It may be incidently noted that we have records of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kaṉṉaradēva *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa III dated in his 28th regnal year (966-67 A.D.) at Tiruttaṇi[414] in Chingleput district, the border area outside the present Chittoor district. But we do not have any of his records to the north or west of Tiruttaṇi. It may therefore be surmised that Kṛishṇa III was concentrating his attention on the regions south of Mēlpāḍi in North Arcot district and not on the regions north of Mēlpāḍi, or even Tiruttaṇi for that matter. Hence, it is difficult to say under whose influence this region could have been before Rājarāja I. His records (986-87 A.D.) begin to appear in this region from his 2nd year onwards. The western parts of the Chittoor district were under the influence of the Vaiduṁbas. (*vide : discussion on Vaiduṁbas).* It is not improbable that the Vaiduṁbas had extended their influence towards the east also to be only pushed back to the west firstly by Jaṭā-Chōḍa and then by Rājarāja I. There is however no direct evidence bearing on this. It is possible that Rājarāja was active in the northern parts to turn the course of events in favour of Śaktivarman of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty. His encounter with Jaṭā-Chōḍa Bhīma was perhaps followed by his expansion in the north represented by these records.

Rājarāja I and His Successors

The occurrence of records belonging to Rājarāja I so far copied from Chittoor district appears to indicate the westward expansion of Rājarāja's influence. The earliest record of his, dated in the 2nd year, is found at Guḍimallam, Kalahasti taluk.[415] The earliest in the western part, copied from Mogili, Chittoor taluk, is dated in the 6th year.[416]

Ever since Rājarāja's conquest, this region had been mostly under the continuous occupation of the Chōḷas. Only the records of Rājamahēndra, (*c.* 1060-63 A.D.) and Rājēndra III (1246-79 A.D.) have not been traced so far. This does not mean that the Chōḷas lost control of this region entirely during the reign periods of these kings. The Chōḷas had controlled this region through generals and officers deputed by them upto the period of Vikramachōḷa and through the feudatories like the Yādavarāyas, Telugu-Chōḷas, Pallavas, Śōḻa-Gaṅgas, Saṁbuvarāyas and Adigaimāns.

Besides the two records of the reign of Rājarāja I from the eastern[417] and western[418] parts of Chittoor district noted above fifteen more inscriptions directly refer themselves to his reign. Most of these records register gifts of land, gold, cows and sheep to different deities, conferment of rights, remission of taxes in kind etc., by his officers or chiefs or private individuals.

An inscription from Guḍimallam, dated in the 4th year (988-89 A.D.) of Rājakēsari Rājarāja I, records that Madurāntaka Gaṇḍarādittar[419] set up the image of Kūttapperumāḷ, *i.e.*, Naṭarāja and made a grant of land for the festivals, food offerings etc. to the same god. This officer is stated to have conducted some enquiries about the affairs of the temple at Tirumālppēṟu.[420]

An inscription from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk dated in his 6th year (1000-01 A.D.) states that Śōḻavēḷār was a general (*daṇḍanāyaka*) obviously, under Rājarāja I.[421]

Another Chōḷa general Nambaṉ Kūttāḍi *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa Brahmamārāyan is found mentioned in a record from Yōgimallavaram,[422] Puttur taluk [dated in the 23rd year (1007-08 A.D.) of Rājarāja I ?] as a donor of gold weighed by *Danmakaṭṭaḷaikkal*[423] on the 80th day of the 23rd year of the king. The record refers to a dispute between the *sabhā* of Tiruchchukaṉūr and the *tānattār* of the temple which was arbitrated by this general. From Kāḷahasti comes the latest inscription of this ruler dated in his 27th year (1011-12 A.D.). It refers to Aḍigal Nakkaṉ, a senior officer (*perundaṉam*) of the king and also to Mūrkkaṉ Pāṇḍi, a *śiṟudaṉam* officer of the king. The same record informs that the latter was also a *śrīkāryam* officer of the temple of Kāḷahastīśvara.[424] It records the gift by the king of a gold plate (?), which is stated to have been brought by his senior officer (*perundaṉam*) under the orders of the king.

The Kāḷahasti inscription dated in the 27th year (1011-12 A.D.) of this Chōḷa king is of special interest as it records an enquiry conducted by his officer. The inscription recording this states that Vaippūr Uḍaiyāṉ Aḍiyāṉ Puyaṅgan, the *kaṅkāṇi* officer (*kaṅgāṇināyagam*) of Āṟṟūr-nāḍu and other divisions included in it, conducting an enquiry, arranged for compensations to be paid by the *Upāsakas*, for the total default against the stipulated quantity of supply and for their irregular remittance of the same. It further records that on the orders of the *kankāṇi* officer, the *Upāsakas* agreed to pay a cash compensation of 24 *kaḻañju* and 2 *mā* towards the unremitted quantities of 15 *kalam* of ghee and 44 *kalam* and 2 *tūṇi* of curd, computed from the date of the endowments, *i.e.*, from 16th (1000-01 A.D.) and 23rd (1007-08 A.D.) regnal years of the king respectively made by Śōḻavēḷān, and Kaṟuppāṟuḍaiyān etc., Toṇḍaimānār *alias* Kavirapiḍāraṉ and Vaiyiramēghaṉ Viḻupparaiyaṉ, a merchant of Mummuḍiśōḻapuram, upto the 161st day of the 27th year of the king's reign. Rising to the occasion, the *kaṇkāṇi* officer of the king took stern measures against the subjects of Āṟṟūr-nāḍu for their failure to carry out the endowments as per the agreement. It may be concluded from this that Vaippūr Uḍaiyāṉ Aḍiyaṉ Puyaṅgaṉ, the *kaṅkāṇi* officer, was apparently an official of high rank, examining the acts of other officials or individuals as an agent of the king.[425]

An undated record from Nārāyaṇavanam, Puttur taluk, belonging to Rājakēsarivarman, who is no doubt identical with Rājarāja I, refers to Vikkiyaṇṇaṉ Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍan, of the Chaḷukki family as the chief of Vaṭṭiya-nāḍu in [Kuṉṟa]vattana-kōṭṭam and records the privileges conferred by him on the Veḷḷāḷas of the same *nāḍu*.[426] The fact that Vikkiyaṇṇaṉ was administering the Vaṭṭiya-nāḍu region, suggests that he was a member of the ruling family of the area.[427] It is known from an inscription of the 8th year (992-93 A.D.) of this king, of a similar title assumed by one of his chiefs who ruled over the area called Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu,[428] [parts of present North Arcot district] and thereby it may be suggested that more than one feudatory family of local chiefs were exercising control in different parts of his empire. An undated inscription (in two pieces) from Tiruchchāṉūr, Chandragiri taluk, belonging to the reign of the same king, mentions Iḍarnīkki Aruḷākki *alias* Rājarāja Mūvēndavēḷāṉ and records a gift of 40 *kaḷañju*.[429]

The earliest inscription of Rājēndra I, son and successor of Rājarāja I in Chittoor district is from Kāḷahasti and is dated in his 3rd regnal year (1014-15 A.D.). His latest inscription found in the same region is also from the same place and it is dated in his 24th year (1035-36 A.D.). The names of various officers who served in this region during this period are available.

We may here refer to an inscription from Kāḷahasti which is dated in the 228th day of his 4th year (1016 A.D.) which mentions a feud between Siṅgaṉ, Kulamāṇikkaṉ, a soldier belonging to the Edirilichōḷa-terinda valaṅgai vēḷaikkāṟar (the division of the army) of *śiṟudanam* and Iḷaiyarāja Uttama-terinda vaḷaṅgai vēḷaikkāṟar (the right-hand division in the service of the prince), for the merit of the deceased.[430] It is obviously a personal quarrel between these two soldiers.

The next record of this king is from the Tirumalai temple which was one of the inscriptions re-engraved during the reign of Vīra Nārasimha Yādavarāya. It is dated in the 7th regnal year (1018-19 A.D.) and states that a *dēvadāna* grant made for burning lamps to the god Tiruvēṅgaḍadēvar at Tirumala, having fallen into disuse due to non-availability of tenants (*kuḍi-paṟṟāmaiyil*), the administrator (*adhikāri*) (name not given) who is stated to be a native of Koṟṟamaṅgalam in Kuḍavūr-nāḍu, summoned the *śrīkāryam* officer described as a servant of *śiṟudanam* (*śiṟudanattup-paṇimagaṉ*) in Kuḍavūr-nāḍu and the *dēvakaṉmigaḷ*, and after the enquiry, restored the grant.[431]

Subsequently, three inscriptions belonging to his 12th regnal year (1023-24 A.D.) and referring themselves to the three different officers under Rājēndra I have been found in the temple of Kāḷahastīśvara, Kāḷahasti. One of the inscriptions records a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp by Pirāntakaṉ ... var Vīmaṉ *alias* Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ (the ruler of Milāḍu) entrusting the sheep to the care of Danti Śamuttaṉ for the daily supply of one *uḷakku* of ghee to the temple (of Kāḷahastīśvara) for the uninterrupted supply for which Śoṭṭaipirān *alias* Aiññūṟṟuvamaṉṟāḍi of Aḷagiyaśōḷapuram stood guarantee.[432] This chief is mentioned in our inscription only as making a gift to the temple at Kāḷahasti but not as ruling over this area. He was probably a pilgrim. The second inscription records an endowment of 75 *kāśu* for burning a lamp in the *dīpastambha* on every Kārttigai day and for other offerings to the god Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār out of the interest of 2 *kāśu* accruing from the capital amount, by Śaḷukkikālakālan̤ Kāḷappiriyan̤ of a *nāḍu* whose name is not clear but which was in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤a-maṇḍalam. *Śaḷukkikālakālan̤ Kāḷappiriyan̤* appears to be a title borne by this chief who participated in one of the several encounters between the Chōl̤a and the Chāḷukya. It may be noted that in yet another record of the same reign period, there is the mention of a person bearing the title *Chāḷukkiya Kālakālan̤ Kāḷappiriyan̤* as the *Kankāṇināyakan* of Ār̤r̤ūr-nāḍu. This person appears to be identical with the one noted above. [433]

Another inscription from Kāḷahasti records a gift of land for a garden by Daṇḍanāyan̤ Sōman̤ Kumaran *alias* Madhurāntakamārāyan̤ and further states that the garden (*tirunandavanam*) provided by him and the big *maṇḍapa* (*kōyilil mun̤bil pariya tirumaṇḍapam*) built by him received the name *Madhurāntakamārāyan̤*.[434] The imperial officer (*daṇḍanāyakan̤*) Sōman̤ Kumaran had come to receive the official title *Madhurāntaka-mārāyan̤* (*mārāyan̤-mahārāya*) in view of his services rendered to Chōl̤a Rājēndra, who had the title *Madhurāntaka*.

An undated inscription from Kapilatīrtham, at the foot of the Tirumalai hills, Chandragiri taluk, palaeographically assignable to the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. records the construction of the closed circumambulatory passage [*tirumāḷigai*][435] probably in the temple of Kapilēśvara, by Rāyan̤ Rājēndraśōl̤an̤[436] *alias* Brahamamārāyan̤-Munaiyadarayan̤ of Kōṭṭūr.

Another inscription from Kāḷahasti, of which the date is lost, informs us that Mummuḍichōl̤an̤ *alias* Mīnavan̤ Pallavaraiyan̤ served under him as an officer of *perundan̤am* and further records a gift of cows and sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-mahādēva.

Eight inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I have been noticed so far from the eastern and western parts of Chittoor district. Two inscriptions from the eastern part are from Kāḷahasti, both of which are dated in the 5th regnal year of this king (1022-23 A.D.).[437] One of the inscriptions, recording an order (*uḷvari*), issued on the 87th day, registers a gift of land, free of taxes in Pal̤aiyāru in Ambar-nāḍu, in Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.[438] Another record mentions a sale of land for the provision of an arecanut garden called *Tirukaṇṇappadēvar*, named after one of the Nāyanmārs Kaṇṇappa Nāyan̤ār.[439]

An inscription from Puṅganūr, Punganur taluk, dated in his 12th year (1029-30 A.D.) records the right of maintaining the accounts of the village (*ūr-kaṇakkakkāṇi*) conferred on Āḍavallān̤, son of Gaṅgaikoṇḍān̤ of Kāñchi in Eyir̤kōṭṭam, in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤a-maṇḍalam by the assembly of Puṅganūr *alias* Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pulināḍu in Perumbāṇappāḍi in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤a-maṇḍalam.

The next record from Kāḷahasti dated in his 26th regnal year (1044-45 A.D.) refers to the gift of 192 sheep for two perpetual lamps made by Ter̤r̤i Māṭalan Iruṅgōḷan̤ Kula ... yan̤ Madurāntakan̤ *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤a-Iruṅgōḷan̤ of Iruṅgōḷappāḍi.[440] This seems to be the earliest reference to the family of Iruṅgōḷas from among the inscriptions known from Chittoor district. The Iruṅgōḷas who is referred to as a donor in our record paid a visit to the temple at Kāḷahasti probably as a pilgrim. The region Iruṅgōḷappāḍi, to which he belonged comprised the area around the present Vṛiddhāchalam, in the taluk of the same name.

The record from Munaganakulapalle in Madanapalle taluk dated in the 31st year (1048-49 A.D.) of Rājādhirāja I mentions a Rājarāja-Brahmādhirāja as ruling over Mahārājavāḍi-7000 country. We know from a record of Rājarāja I[441] (*Rājakēsari*) dated in his 8th regnal year (992-93 A.D.) from Tiruneḍuṅgulam in Tiruchirapalli taluk, of an officer under this king called Rājarāja-Brahmamārāya. This tempts one to identify the ruler of Mahārājavāḍi-7000, *i.e.*, Rājarāja Brahmādhirāja with the officer who served under Rājarāja I. The Munaganakulapalle record leads us to surmise that obviously, this chief continued to serve under Rājādhirāja I also.

The above inscription further refers to the death of Mā[ḷa]bbe, wife of [Sō]vayyum (for Sōvayyan) *alias* Rājēndra-chōḷa-Dēśa-Raṭṭaguḍi, son of Kōmayyu (for Kōmayya)-Raṭṭaguḍi. The suffix Raṭṭaguḍi assumed by Sōvayyan and Kōmmayya indicates the offices held by them.

A Tamil record from Basinikoṇḍa, Madanapalle taluk belonging to the reign of Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja I, dated in his 32nd year (1049-50 A.D.) records that the merchant community of *nāḍu* (a district), *nagara*, (a centre of merchant-guild) and the 1500 of the directions from the various countries *nānādēśi* (*tiśaiyāyirattu-aiññūr̤r̤uvar*) of all *samayas*[442] (convention), convened a meeting at Śīrāvaḷḷi in Mūgai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Pūraṇi (for Pūrva)-Mārāyapāḍi (Kīl̤ai-Mārāyapādi of the latter records, *e.g.*, Mallūr inscription of Kulōttuṅga I)[443] in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤a-maṇḍalam and passed a resolution declaring Śīrāvaḷḷi as *Nānādēśīya-Dasama*[*ḍi*] *Er̤ivīrapaṭṭaṇa* and conferred certain rights and privileges on the residents of that town.[444] This assembly that met at Śīrāvaḷḷi decided to convert it into Er̤ivīrapaṭṭaṇa in order to facilitate the movement of traders. The caravans were probably always accompanied by a military wing consisting of bodies called *Er̤i-vīras*, *Munai-vīras*, *Iḷañjiṅga-vīras*, *Koṅgavāḷas*, a host of other sects, the *valaṅgai* weavers etc.

Yet another reference to Er̤i-Vīrapaṭṭaṇa is found in an inscription engraved on the east and north bases of the *maṇḍapa* in the Arkēśvara temple at Karshanapalle, Punganur taluk. This record, dated in the 36th regnal year (1053-54 A.D.) of the same king, refers to the grant of excise (*śuṅgam*) on oil-mills to provide a lamp in the temple of Aṅgakkāra-Īśvaram-Uḍaiyār at Muttukūr *alias* Er̤i-vīrapaṭṭaṇam in Pulināḍu, in Tyāgavāṇavaḷanāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤a-maṇḍalam, by Śōl̤akulakāraṇa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, the officer-in-charge of excise ((*śuṅgam*) for *the victory of the arms of the emperor* (*Chakkiravartti-śrī-Bhujaṅg*[*aḷ*] *vardhikka*). The place Muttukūr which has been declared as Er̤ivīrapaṭṭaṇa can be identified with the village of the same name, situated about 2 miles east of the findspot of our record and nearly 8 miles south-west of Puṅganūr.

There is only one record of Rājēndra II available in the Chittoor district. This record from Peddatippasamudram is in Kannaḍa and is dated in the reign of Parakēsari Vijayarājēndrachōḷadēva the Śaka 981, Hēmaḷaṁbi.[445] The cyclic year, Hēmaḷaṁbi however will correspond to Śaka 980, *i.e.*, 1057-58 A.D. Therefore the Śaka year quoted was current. It records the death of Bommarasa, son of Kōvarmarasa of Champūra in Maḍambūr-12, while fighting against a big army (*mābalavaṁ*). This *mābalavaṁ* is apparently a reference to an army of considerable strength despatched by the Chāḷukyas which managed to intrude thus far into Chōḷa territory. This intrusion is perhaps, connected with the *dakshiṇa dig-vijaya* of Sōmēśvara I in or before Śaka 981, Vikāri, Māgha, Puṇṇame, Monday mentioned in the Sūḍi inscription. If the week-day is taken to be Thursday for the given *tithi*, the details may correspond to 1060 A.D., January, 20. The expression used in the record is *dakshiṇa digvijayaṁ geydu Chōḷanam jayaṁgeydu maguḷe bijayam geyyuttaṁ* meaning 'having made a successful expedition through the southern region and conquered the Chōḷa, was holding a triumphal progress'.

His successor Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra's stone inscriptions occur at Kāḷahasti[446] 3rd regnal year (= 1066-67 A.D.), at Puṅganūr[447] 4th regnal year (= 1067-68 A.D.), at Yōgimallavaram[448] (7th regnal year; Śaka 991, Saumya), while we have also his Chārāla[449] (7th regnal year; Śaka 991, Saumya) copper-plates.

The Kāḷahasti inscription records the gift of 96 sheep by Nārāyaṇaṉ *alias* Śiyāṟūr Madhurāntaka-mūvēndavēḷāṉ of Poṟkalakkuḍi in Marukal-nāḍu in the Kshattiriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu of Śōḷamaṇḍalam for burning a perpetual lamp to the deity Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār, in Āṟṟūr-nāḍu, a division of Adhirājēndra-maṇḍalam.[450] This inscription contains a *praśasti* of Vīrarājēndra which refers to his campaign against Āhavamalla led by the latter's generals Siṅgaṇaṉ and Vikkalaṉ.

The record from Puṅganūr refers to Tirukkoḷḷīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēvar at Kuṅganūr (the same as modern Puṅganūr) *alias* Valavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pulināḍu in Perumbāṇappāḍi in Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam.[451]

The Chārāla plates record the grant by the king, on the day of Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, of the village Chēṟam *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pulināḍu, a sub-division of Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam to the Brāhmaṇas Sō(Śrō)triya-kramavittaṉ, Mundaya-kramavittaṉ, Pallaya-kramavittaṉ and others and their descendents of the *varga* (lineage) of Ṛishikēśva (Hṛishīkēśa)-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Bahudhānya (Baudhāyana)-sūtra, a brāhmaṇa of Chēṟam *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The king while seated in the canopy (*tirukkāvaṇam)* of the audience-hall (*tiruvōlakka-maṇḍapa*) called *Rājarājaṉ*, in the southern portion of the temple of the god Tiruvēkambaṁ-uḍaiyār at Kāñchīpuram a *nagaram* in Eyiṟ-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, issued this order *(tiruvāymoḻind-aruḷa)* to the officer (*adhikārigaḷ*) Guṇanidi (nidhi)- Aruḷmoḻiyār *alias* Mīnavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷār, the *kiḻavaṉ*, of Parakēsarinallūr in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu of Śōḻamaṇḍalam.[452]

The Yōgimallavaram inscription describes the king with Chāḷukya titles like *Sakalabhuvanāśraya* and *Mēdinīvallabha* besides the Chōḷa titles like *Ravikulatilaka*,[453] *Āhavamallakulakāla*, *Pāṇḍyakulāntaka*, *Rājāśraya*, *Rājarājēndra*, *Vīra-Chōḷa* and *Karikāla-Chōḷa.* Apparently he assumed some of these titles on account of the success claimed by him over his Chāḷukyan opponents Ābhavamalla and Sōmēśvara I. This inscription seems to record some grant by the king, when he was seated in his palace on the banks of the river Pagaḷai in Nuṟuṅgi in Vallakunda-nāḍu in Vijayarājēndra-maṇḍalam to god Pippalādīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva. Probably this Nuṟuṅgi may be located in the area adjacent to Kōlār, as Kōlār is said to be situated in Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vijayarājēndra-maṇḍalam.[454]

Vīrarājēndraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyar, at whose instance the order was issued by the king, Vīrarājēndra-malaiyappichchōḷaṉ, the *tiruvāykkēḻvi* officer of the king Rājarājaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍyarājaṉ, the executor of the royal orders, Vīrarājēndra-pallavara...the *kaṉkāṇi*, figure as officers in the record. It also refers to Nirupaśikhāmaṇi-mūvēndavēḷān, Śalukkikulakāla-mūvēndavēḷān, Viḻupparaiyar of Dāmanūr-nāḍu (*puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷanāyagam*), Rājarājēndra-mūvēndavēḷān and Vīrarājēndraśōḷa-viḻupparaiyaṉ, as signatories of the grant.

The prefix *Vīrarājēndra* and other titles indicate that they were apparently officers appointed during this period and were honoured with these titles.

Only two records are available for Parakēsari Adhirājēndra from the western parts of Chittoor district. They are dated in the 3rd year (1070 A.D.) of his reign. One of them from Mūgavāḍi, Punganur taluk, mentions the village Mūkkaivāḍi in Pulināḍu in Peruṁbāṇappāḍi in Paḍuvūrkōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśoḷa-maṇḍalam and further records a gift of land,[455] while the other inscription from Pullagaṇṭivāripalle, Madanapalle taluk, refers to Koyakuṟai-nāḍu *alias* Mēlai-Mārāyapāḍi (*i.e.*, Mahārājavāḍi-west) in Ireṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam.[456]

We have seen above[457] that Pūrva-mārāyapāḍi is stated to be situated in Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam in the inscription from Basinikoṇḍa, Madanapalle taluk, dated in the 32nd year (1049-50 A.D.) in the reign of Rājādhirāja I. Likewise it is not impossible that the territorial division Mēlai-Mārāyapāḍi (*i.e.*, Mārājavāḍi-west) like Pūrva-Mārāyapāḍi was situated in the above *maṇḍalam* and that this area was included in the newly formed Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. In a record of Kulōttuṅga I dated in his 49th regnal year (1118-19 A.D.), the division Kīḻai-Mārāyapāḍi also, is said to be in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam.[458]

The Tamil passage[459] introducing Vīrarājēndra in his Chārāla plates[460] contains three sections. The first section is the standard *praśasti* commencing with the expressions *Vīramēy tuṇaiyāgavum* and ending with his name Vīrarājēndradēvar (lines 160-68). The second section purporting to introduce the place of his camp contains the verse referring to the battle of Muḍakkāṟu[461] in his campaign against the Chāḷukya already referred to in the first section. The king is stated in this passage to have been ruling exclusively over Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam (*podunīkkiy = āḷkiṉṟa Jayaṅgōṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam*) (lines 169-70). It is apparent that the passage is not happily worded. The same is the case with regard to the third section where the king is stated to have seen the back of Āhavamalla and his sons at Kūḍal-saṅgamam fought immediately after his own coronation and to have taken Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam (lines 173-74). This is also a reference to a battle connected with a campaign against Sōmēśvara I.

We may at this juncture pause to consider the conflicting statements made in the records of Vīrarājēndra and Adhirājēndra[462] with regard to the territorial division in which Puli-nāḍu was situated. According to Chārāla plates, Pulināḍu was situated in Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam while in the record of Adhirājēndra[463] dated a few months later in 1070 A.D., Pulināḍu is said to be in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. Likewise we find that in the records dated 1072-73[464] and in 1106-07 A.D.[465] of Kulōttuṅga I, Pulināḍu is stated to be in Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, while in another record of 1098 A.D.[466] it is stated to be in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam.

Thus, we find that Pulināḍu which appears to have been under the continuous control of the Chōḷas is stated to be once initially in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam and then in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. These frequent changes in the name of the bigger division of *maṇḍalam* remain to be explained. Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam is the name given to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Rājarāja I. Similarly the name Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam evidently owes its origin to a king who has the title Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa. All the Chōḷa kings right from the time of Rājarāja I to the times of Vīrarājēndra claim to have captured Raṭṭapāḍi-seven and a half lakhs. Apart from the validity of this claim one of them would have adopted the title *Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa*, after which this *maṇḍalam* would have been named. The standard *praśasti* of Rājēndra II (acc. 1052 A.D.) '*Tirumāduppuviennum*' etc. refer to one of his sons (*kādalar*) as *Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷan*.[467] Beyond this it is difficult to identify the king or prince after whom this *maṇḍalam* could have been named. Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam was evidently situated to the north and north-west of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. This seems to indicate that Pulināḍu had often to be clubbed with Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. This is probably due to the possibility of the Chāḷukya intrusion into the Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam resulting in the loss of some area which must have led to the necessity of transferring Pulināḍu back to Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam in the south. This intrusion is indicated by a reference to the *mābalavaṁ* in one of the inscriptions of Rājēndra II,[468] discussed above.

Nearly fifty three inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I are found, most of them in the eastern parts of Chittoor district. In the west only eight records are available.

The earliest inscription of this king dated in the 3rd year (1072-73 A.D.) is from Puṅganūr proper[469] while his latest record, copied from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk, in the eastern part, is dated in the 49th year (1118-19 A.D.) of his reign.[470] The Puṅganūr inscription mentions the tank Rājendraśōḷap-pērēri at Kuṅganūr *alias* Valavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pulināḍu in Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam.

The next record of Kulōttuṅga I from Kāḷahasti is dated in the 14th year (1083-84 A D.) and records a gift of 1786 *kuḻi* of land as *maḍaiviḷāgam* for the residence of the *māhēśvaras* by the residents of Tirukkāḷatti *alias* Mummuḍiśōḷapuram in Āṟṟūrnāḍu in Tiruvēṅgaḍakōṭṭam, a district of Rājēndraśōḷamaṇḍalam.[471]

An incomplete inscription from Laḍḍigam dated in the 16th year of this king, records the gift of the village Mādamaṅgalam (also called *Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷanallūr*) in Pulināḍu in Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam, to the temple of Iruṅgōḷīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva built at Kōyāṟṟūr *alias* Uttamaśōḷapuram in the same nāḍu, by a chief Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ.[472]

This record though incomplete, is of special interest as it refers to the construction of this temple by the chief, and to the various officers. The portion containing the names of signatories is not available. The record is in the form of an order communicating the royal-consent to the naming of the village, Mādamaṅgalam as Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷanallūr, after the donor Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ. The temple of Iruṅgōḷīśvaram must therefore be deemed to have been constructed in or slightly before the 16th year (1085-86 A.D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. It is evident that the village was endowed by the chief and the king granted exemption from taxes on this village which amounted to 82-3/8-*Vāṇapallavanmāḍai*. It is stated that this order was entered into the register on the 453rd day in the 16th year. The sum of 82-3/8 *māḍai* is stated to have comprised the collection made under the heads of taxes like *ūr-kaḷañju*, *kumara-kachchāṇam* etc. This exemption was granted by the king while he was camping at his palace in Pudu-Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram. He is stated to have been seated on a platform (*koṟaḍu*) in the hall of paintings (*Chittira-maṇḍapam*). In the present state of our knowledge Pudu-Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamalla-kulakālapuram could not be identified. The place was apparently named after the title either of Rājēndra II *or* of Vīrarājēndra. Since it is called Pudu-Āyirattaḷi, it is different from the old Āyirattaḷi, which is identical with Niyamam, in Tanjavur district. Mādamaṅgalam, the donated village also cannot be identified, though Pulināḍu in which the village was included indicates its location either in Punganur taluk or in the bordering areas of the Madanapalle and Palamner taluks in Chittoor district.

The chief Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷan *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ, the founder of this temple is known to us also from a later inscription of this king Kulōttuṅga I,[473] dated in his

27th year (1096-97 A.D.) from Brahmadēśam, North Arcot district. The inscription records the gift of the village Iruṅgōḷaviḷāgam for *gōpura* (probably construction of *gōpura*) offerings and lamp by Āḍavallāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ. It is possible that the chief who built the temple at Laḍḍigam was associated with the construction of the *gōpura* at Brahmadēśam also. Both Laḍḍigam and Brahmadēśam apparently fell within the area of his influence.

An inscription from Kāḷahasti dated in the 18th year (1087-88 A.D.) of his reign records an order of the king transferring a dancing girl and her descendants from the royal service to the temple at Tirukkāḷatti.[474]

Another inscription from Kāḷahasti, dated in his 20th year (1089-90 A.D.) records a gift of 128 cows and 384 sheep by Āḍavallāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ for burning 20 lamps in 20 lamp-stands, from evening till the close of the mid-night service, in the *maṇḍapa* and in the verāndāḥ all round the temple of Kāḷahastīśvara, raised in stone by his mother Puttaṅgaiyār.[475] In considering the building activities of the lady, we may also note similar activities on the part of her son as detailed above (*vide : discussion on Art and Architecture*).

His record of the 26th regnal year (1095-96 A.D.) from the same place mentions the assignment of 25 *paṭṭi* of land, which were lying uncultivated (fallow) to be brought under cultivation and further records that this was made for the provision of extra offerings to the god on sundays, new-moon days and on the days of the *tiruṇūlēṟṟupaḍi* festivals, by the residents of Kaṇṇanallūr, a *dēvadāna* village of Tirukkāḷattı-uḍaiyār in Poygaināḍu.[476]

Another record[477] from the same place in continuation of the inscription detailed above records the gift of land made by Arayaṉ Rājēndraśōḷaṉ *alias Sēnāpati* Rāja-nārāyaṇa Muṇaiyadaraiyar, of Kōṭṭūr in Malaināḍu, for the festivals *tiruṇūlēṟṟupaḍi*, referred to in the counter agreement[478] made by the residents of Kaṇṇanallūr who figure in the former record. This general is known to us also from a record (date lost) of this king from Śrīraṅgam, Tiruchirapalli district.[479]

A long inscription from Agastyakoṇḍa, Punganur taluk, dated in his 29th year (1098-99 A.D.), records the grant of exemption from taxes on the village Kāvankuṭṭai already endowed as *dēvadāna* to provide for various items of expenditure including procession to the deity Tiruvagattīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva at Kōyāṟṟūr *alias* Uttamaśōḷa-puram in Pulināḍu, in Perumbāṇappāḍi in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam by the *nāṭṭār* including Brāhmaṇas and Vellāḷas of the same nāḍu. The amount of tax collected under the heads *maṇai-māḍu*, *taṟi-iṟai*, *taṭṭārapāṭṭam* etc., is stated to have been paid from the 25th to 28th year in the reign of this king. The *nāṭṭār* undertook to pay this amount themselves permanently, even if the *nāḍu* is transferred as fief to anybody other than Iruṅgōḷar.[480] It is, therefore, clear that this *nāḍu* was under the control of Iruṅgōḷar in this period and it explains very well the building activities of this chief and his mother. It records also an additional grant of current good *kāśuṟaṉ* (*āḍu-naṟ-kāśu*) by the *nāṭṭār*, the interest on which was required to be spent on this temple. The names of various officers who served during the king's reign figure as signatories in this record. An inscription from Vāvilitōṭa, Chittoor taluk, dated in his 31st year (1100-01 A.D.) registers a grant of land made to the temple of Tiruvagat-tīśvara-muḍaiya-mahādēva at Vāḷaikkāḍu in Tūynāḍu; in Perumbāṇappāḍi, a district of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam by Kuvalāḷaparamēśvaran Gaṅgakulōṟbhavaṉ Śīyagaṅgaṉ.[481]

The next record from Kāḷahasti dated in his 33rd year (1102-03 A.D.) refers to the gift of 96 sheep and a lamp stand by Gaṇḍarāditta...., wife of Aṅgarāja for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār for the merit of her mother Iravikulasundari.[182]

The Yōgimallavaram record dated in the [35]th year (1104-05 A.D.) of Chakravartin Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa, who may be identified with Kulōttuṅga I[183] records the remittance of the tax amount of 5 *māḍai* from the *dēvadāna* village Muññaippūṇḍi *alias* Śivapādaśēkharanallūr paid to Valikoṇḍaśōḻa-Brahmamārāyan on behalf of the god Tippalādīśvaramuḍaiya-mahādēva of Tiruchchukaṉūr in Tiruvēṅgaḍa-nāḍu in Tiruvēṅgaḍakōṭṭam in [Rājēndra]śōḻa-maṇḍalam by Kaṉṉan Vāsudēvan a member of the *gaṇa* of Kuḍavūrnāḍu. The latter made representation of Magaṉikkaṅgāṭṭi to convert the village into a *sarvamānya dēvadāna* from the 35th year of the king. Valikoṇḍaśōḻa-Brahmamārāyan was perhaps the officer in charge of the revenues. Another inscription of his 36th year (1105-06 A.D.) from the same place records the royal grant of exemption of taxes on the village at the request of Kaṉṉan Vāsudēvan *alias* Iruṇīkki Ulagāṇḍaśōḻa-Brahmamārāyan of Kuḍavūrnāḍu.[184] Kaṉṉan Vāsudēvan adopted the title *Iruṇīkki* Ulagāṇḍaśōḻa apparently after that title borne by the reigning king to mark his success in removing the *iruḷ* (darkness), *i.e.*, the confusion which preceded his accession.[185]

An inscription from Eḍūru, Punganur taluk, dated in his 37th year (1106-07 A.D.) records the construction of a tank called *Madurāntakap-pērēri* in the forest land to the east of Aḻiñjanēri in the village Iḍaiyūr *alias* Śrīkaraṇanallūr in Pulināḍu in Perumbāṇappāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍaḷam by Tirumāl Madurāntakaṉ *alias* Naraśiṅgavarmaṉ and further states that a *dēvadāna* grant of land irrigated by this tank to god Śrīkaraṇīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva of the village by assigning the land which had to be deforested and brought under cultivation.[186]

The next record of this king is from Vāvilitōṭa,[187] Chittoor taluk, and is dated in his 40th year (1109-10 A.D.). It records the grant of money made to the temple of Tiruvagattīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva at Vāḷaikkāḍu by Gaṅgaikoṇḍān Araiśaṅgamalla Viḻupparaiyaṉ, the *tantramudali* (commander) of Gaṅgakulōṟbhavaṉ Śīyagaṅgan. This inscription, when considered along with another in which Śīyagaṅga himself figures as a donor indicate the influence of the *Śīyagaṅga* family in this area, though it is difficult to say whether the Śīyagaṅgas had replaced Iruṅgōḷas as the local feudatories.

A record of the 42nd year (1101-02 A.D.) of this Chōḷa king from Kāḷahasti registers a gift of 96 cows for half a lamp to the god Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār by Ceṅgaṅguḍaiyāṉ Kūttaṉ Vaḍugaṉ, a *śiṟudanam* officer of the king in the Malaiyaraṉ Paḍaivīḍu in Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḻapuram.[188] The donor is obviously, an officer of considerable status employed in the military establishment called *malaiyaraṉ-paḍaivīḍu* stationed in the great capital city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḻapuram.

We may here refer to another inscription from Kāḷahasti, which is dated in his 43rd year (1102-03 A.D.) and which refers to a gift of lamp made by Paḷḷi Aṅgāḍi Ayyāraṉ, one of the ...*śōḻatterinda villigaḷ* (bow-men) for the merit of his brother Śōṟuḍaiyāṉ.[189] The reference to a regiment of bowmen is noteworthy.

Two inscriptions of his 49th year (1118-19 A.D.) referring to Kulōttuṅgaśōḻakaruppāṟuḍaiyār, a general (*sēnāpatigaḷ*) of this Chōḷa king have been found in the temple of Kāḷahastīśvara at Kāḷahasti. One of the inscriptions records a gift of 96 sheep for burning perpetual lamp to the god Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār by Kaliya[v]vai, who got a lamp cast in metal (*tarā*) in the form of her deceased brother [Kētta]ṉ Ādittaṉ *alias* Maṅgaḷūr-nāḍāḷvār, described as an agent of this general.[490]

The second inscription records a grant of 1100 *kuḷi* of land by one of the agents (*kaṇmi*) of this general, Kēttaṉ Kāṭṭaṉ *alias* Maṅgaḷūr-nāḍāḷivār and other members of his family for burning 25 lamps from sunset till the close of the *śrībali* ceremony at the entrance of the *prākāra* outside the central shrine in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār.[491]

Another inscription from Kāḷahasti belonging to the 47th year (1116-17 A.D.) of his reign records a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp by Araiyaṉ Uḍaiyāṉ *alias* Vaḍa-Gaṇḍagōpāla Pallavaraiyaṉ, a weaver (*kaikkōḷaṉ*) of Tañjāvūr.[492]

Araiyaṉ Uḍaiyāṉ, the donor had obviously assumed the title *Vaḍa-Gaṇḍagōpāla-Pallavaraiyaṉ* on account of his services under this king. We do not know of any Gaṇḍagōpāla during this period; nor do we know whether Kulōttuṅga I himself had that title. The word *Pallavaraiyaṉ* signifies the status of an office that he held under him.

The inscription from Kalakaḍa, Vayalpad taluk, dated in the 49th year of his reign records the gift of villages Muṟukkēttam, Kuḍiyēttam and Tirukkāḷatti-ēri as *dēvadāna* to the god Paḷḷīśvaram-uḍaiya-mādēva at Kaṟkaḍai in Kīai-Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam by Vaidumba mārāyan Tiḍalīśaṉ.[493] He is also known to us from an inscription from Timmasamudram, in the adjoining Rayachoti taluk, Cuddapah district, in characters of about the 12th century.[494]

Chōḷa hegemony in Chittoor district continued under Vikramachōḷa also. The earliest inscription of this king is from Muṇḍlapūḍi, Chandragiri taluk. It is dated in the 3rd year (1120-21 A.D.) of his reign. This inscription records a grant of revenue income (*maṉṉiyam*) from Maṅgalam, a *dēvadāna* village in Śilai-nāḍu for burning four lamps in the temple of Gōpālīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva of Tiruchchuganūr in Kuḍavūr-nāḍu in Tiruvēṅgaḍak-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgōṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍaḷam, by Nāraṇadēvaṉ Puḍōli-araśaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷak-karuppāṟudaiyāṉ.[495] This chief may probably be identical with Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ figuring as *sēnāpatigaḷ* in a record of Kulōttuṅga I[496] dated in the 49th year noticed above. The Guḍimallam record of the same king dated in the 9th regnal year (1126-27 A.D.) refers to the provision of income (*maṉṉiyam*) due from Śilaiyūr and some land in Śilaiyūr-nāḍu made for the celebration of festivals in the temple of Paraśurāmēśvaram-uḍaiyār by Nāraṇadēvan-Puḍōlaraiśaṉ bearing the title *Vikkiramaśōḷak-karuppāṟuḍaiyān*.[497] The record states that he got the temple of Paraśurāmēśvaram-uḍaiyār at Tiruviṟperumbēḍu constructed in stone (*tirukkaṟṟaḷi*), for the merit of his father Nāraṇadēvar *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷak-karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ. From this it becomes clear that both Nāraṇadēvaṉ and his son Puḍōli-arasaṉ served Kulōttuṅga I and that the latter continued to serve Vikramachōḷa also when he changed his title as *Vikramaśōḷak-karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ* in accordance with the prevailing practice.

A record from Kāḷahasti, dated in the 11th year (1128-29 A.D.) of Vikramachōḷa, records a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp made by Vimalādittaṉ *alias* Madhu-rāntakap-pottappichchōḷaṉ, son of Siddhiyarasaṉ belonging to the Telugu-Chōḍa family of Pottappi, the members of which were ruling over the regions around Pottappi adjoining Chittoor district.[498] We know that the Chittoor region was during this period under the sway of Puḍōli-araśaṉ of the Yādavarāya family. Two records from Yōgimallavaram[499] and Kāḷahasti[500] refer to another member of the Yādavarāya family, Ghaṭṭidēva, who figures as a subordinate of Vikramachōḷa.

Kāḷahasti was a renowned pilgrim centre. Hence the availability of the Telugu-

Chōḷa record in this place on the date noted above can only be explained as due to the visit of that chief to Kāḷahasti on pilgrimage. Incidentally, this record provides the earliest reference to the chief of the Pottappi family. Siddhiyarasaṉ (or Siddharasa), the father of Vimalādittaṉ mentioned above is obviously identical with his namesake, who was one of the sons of Dāyabhīma I and a ruler of Pottappi.

In Kāḷahasti we have also four records belonging to the 12th year (1129-30 A.D.) of the reign of Vikramachōḷa. In one of the records is mentioned *daṇḍanāyaka* Goṅkayaṉ, brother-in-law (*machchunaṉ*) of Rājēndraśōḻa Gāṅgairājaṉ, son [Na]ndi-mārāyaṉ, as a donor of 100 *chiṉṉam* (gold coins) for a perpetual lamp.[501] In the second record Śōḻiyaṉ *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa Gāṅgayarājaṉ of Veḷināḍu is stated to have made a gift of 100 *chiṉṉam* for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti Uḍaiyār.[502] The third inscription records a similar gift by Koṅgayan (Goṅkaiyaṉ), son of Rājēndraśōḻa Gāṅgayarājaṉ of Veḷināḍu.[503] Yet another record of this period records a similar gift by Vā[sa]naṉ, son of Niravachchiyaṉ, an officer (*pergaḍi*) of Rājēndraśōḻa Gāṅgaiyarājaṉ of Veḷināḍu.[504]

The donors mentioned in these inscriptions belonged to the Goṅka family and were ruling over Veḷināḍu as chiefs under Vikramachōḷa. Veḷi-nāḍu is also outside Chittoor district but the existence of their records in Kāḷahasti has therefore to be explained as resulting from their visits to the place as pilgrims. The son of Nandi-mārājaṉ (Nandimārāyaṉ) described as *Rājēndraśōḻa-Gāṅgairājaṉ* is, obviously identical with Goṅka I (which name however is not given in our record), who is described as the son of Nannirāja, in the Piṭhāpuram inscription.[505] Consequently, Chōḍa and Goṅka II, respectively the son and grandson of Goṅka I, are identical with Śōḻiyan (Chōḍa) and Koṅgaiyan (Goṅka). Thus, it is clear that *daṇḍanāyaka* Koṅgaiyaṉ, the brother of the wife of Goṅka I, Chōḍa and Goṅka II visited Kāḷahasti together in the 12th year and made the grant of 100 *chiṉṉam* each. We have another record of Vikramochōḷa, dated in his 12th year, from Kāḷahasti which refers to a grant for a perpetual lamp in the Kāḷahastīśvara temple by Mādēvi, daughter of Kaṉṉaradēva *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa Pottappichchōḻaṉ, son of Kāmaraśar.[506] This chief may be identified with his namesake figuring in the record at Tangeḍumalla,[507] Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district, dated Śaka 1037 corresponding to 1115-16 A.D.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 225.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bg. 62.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 337; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 185; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 225, 249; *J.I.H.*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-34.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 225—inscription *A*, Text.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 400.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 233, inscription *F*, Text lines 5-6.
7. *Ibid.*, Text and plate *F* facing p. 229.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 337-45 and plates.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 268-76 and plates.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 344; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 270.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31; *cf.* p. 251, foot note No. 4.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 233 and p. 251.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 233, Text lines 2-4 and p. 233, foot note No. 5.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 345, Text lines 12-13; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 275, Text lines 10-11.

15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 8 and 9.

16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 10-11.

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 231, inscription *E*, Text and p. 233, inscription *F*, Text.

18. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 43.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 233.

20. *Ibid.*, inscription *F*, Text and plate *F* facing p. 229, lines 1-11.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 248, *cf.* the genealogical table.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71 and the genealogical table, p. 271. H.K. Narasimhaswami has fixed the 10th regnal year of Puṇyakumāra, the date of his Dommara Nandyāla plates, at *c.* 750 A.D., on the study of palaeography of this plate in comparison with the Kēndūr (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 58) and Vakkalēri plates (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 202 and plates facing p. 202) and the initial year at *c.* 740 A.D. *cf. Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 271 and foot note Nos. 1 and 2.

24. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 345, Text and plate facing p. 344 and *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 270 and plate facing p. 274.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 235, pp. 272-73 and p. 275, Text lines 12-13—"He was the lord of Hiraṇya-rāshṭra. (He, Puṇyakumāra) orders the inhabitants of his territory"—*Ibid.*, p. 276.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 235, p. 249 and p. 273. Bi(Vi)ripāṟu of the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription has been identified with Mālēpāḍu, as both of them are situated on the south of the river Peṇṇār. The river Suprayōgā identified by M.S. Sarma runs through the territories of Hiraṇya-rāshṭra and Muṇḍa-rāshṭra. But their boundaries are not still clear.

27. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 345; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 249.

28. *A.P.R.G.Ep.*, 1965, part II, pp. 87-92.

29. *Ep., Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 187.

30. *Ibid.*, foot note No. 6.

31. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 314; *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 639.

32. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 343-45; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 423.

33. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 184, *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 314.

34. *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. I, p. 157.

35. *A.P.G.R.Ep.*, 1965, part II, p. 87.

36. *A.R.Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 323. The record is dated Śaka 978 (=1056 A.D.).

37. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 628. The last two letters in the first line of this record may be read as °*kula*, following *Chandra*° and thus restored as *Chandrakula*. This portion of the record is a little damaged.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 642, lines 1-2.

39. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 115; *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 446; *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 312; *A.P.G.R.Ep.*, 1965, No. 18.

40. *A.R.Ep.*, 1970-71, No. B. 509. This inscription is palaeographically assigned to the 8th-9th centuries A.D.

41. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 90; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 60; *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nj. 269; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Nj. 402 (1974); G. Yazdani: *The Early History of the Deccan*, parts I-VI, p. 265; K.V. Ramesh: *A History of South Kanara*, p. 70.

42. The earliest reference to the encounter of Gōvinda III with the confederacy of 12 kings is to be found in the Maṇṇe plates of Staṁbha dated in Śaka 724, Vijaya Saṁvatsara, Sōmagrahaṇa, Pushya-nakshatra (=802 A.D.) (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 61). P.L. Gupta says that Gōvinda III subdued 12 rulers who had combined against him immediately after the death of his father. He considers that Staṁbha, who led the rebellions according to the Kavi plates, is different from the brother of Gōvinda III (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 123). According to D.C. Sircar, the subordinate ruler Staṁbha applied for the issue of the grant (Maṇṇe grants) to his overlord Gōvinda III and it was issued by the

imperial record office, so that he had himself little more to do with its issue (*Ibid.*). V.V. Mirashi, while editing the Dhārūr plates of Gōvinda III, pointed out that all the important victories of Gōvinda III were attained before the date of the Maṇṇe plates. He added, further that Gōvinda released the Gaṅga prince to create a rival to his brother Staṁbha, but as he joined the latter and his allies, Gōvinda defeated them all and put the Gaṅga king Śivamāra II into fetters again. And all these events, he places before Śaka 716-17 (=794-95 A.D.) (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 285).

43. *A.R.Ep.*, 1969-70, No. B. 3.

44. *Ibid.*, 1962-63, No. B. 138.

45. This has been read as 'Kāma Vaiduṁba mahārā [jādhi] rāja.

46. Both these inscriptions can be palaeographically assigned to the 9th century A.D.

47. The word *Eḻupakālu* may only refer to a person. But, the nominative case ending denotes the name of a place. A similar word like *Yemmakālu* in an inscription from the same place gives a clue that it can be taken as the name of a person only. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vōl. XXIV, p. 194, line 6).

48. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637. This inscription can be palaeographically assigned to the 9th century A.D.

49. The letters °*rul-ẽḷan* are found engraved below line 3.

50. *A.R.Ep.*, 1967-68, No. B. 16.

51. *Ibid.*, 1969-70, No. B. 3; *Ibid.*, 1962-63, No. B. 138.

52. *Ibid.*, 1967-68, No. B. 16; N. Venkataramanayya points out that "Vīramahārāju, the commander-in-chief of Kaligatriṇētra Siṅgadhara and Mahārāja Podanṟu of Rēnāḍu died in a battle and that certain persons entered *kīḻguṇṭe* and that Gaṇḍatriṇētra set up the inscriptions to commemorate them. Kaligatriṇētra Bhīmamahārāju of the Pālagiri epigraph (*Ibid.*, 1935-36, No. 323) could not have been the same person as Kaligatriṇētra Siṅgadhara of the present record, for in the first place their names are different, though they bear the same title, and secondly, the latter must have preceded the former atleast by two centuries. He was the predecessor, if not actually a contemporary of Gaṇḍatriṇētra, for, the latter is said to have set up this inscription to commemorate the death in battle of Kaligatriṇētra Siṅgadhara's Sēnāpati Vīramahārāju and refers to the war between Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vaiduṁba Mahārāju and Noḻaṁbi and records the death of a hero in a battle at Mudimaḍuvu".- *A.P.G.R.Ep.*, 1965, part II, pp. 87-92; *contra*: *A.R.Ep.*, 1967-68, Introduction.

53. *Ibid.*, 1937, Nos. 366-67: *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 628; *A.R.Ep.*, 1968-69, No. B. 16.

54. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 192-93.

55. *A.R.Ep.*, 1936-37, Nos. 366-67.

56. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 14; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 191 and plate facing p. 190.

57. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 341.

58. Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vaiduṁba Mahārāja was ruling over the kingdom of the earth extending as far as Kiṟudore in the north (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bg. 62). This might be the Kundēṟu river, a tributary of the north Peṇṇār. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 185; *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 337).

59. *A.R.Ep.*, 1936-37, No. 366.

60. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 629.

61. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 640 and 629.

62. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 183.

63. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 186, foot note No. 5; *contra : A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, part II, para 45, pp. 67-68.

64. In the Annual Report it has been assigned to the 8th century. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

65. *Ibid.* In the first line of the record the letter *du* in between *Bai* and *ṁbha* is

omitted by the engraver, the correct form being *Bai[du*]ṁbha—mahārāja.* That Puṇyakumāra-arasa was a scion of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷa family who lived and ruled as a feudatory under Baiduṁbha or Vaiduṁba cannot be said with certainty. The region Maṅgala-12 can be identified with the area around Maṅgalam in Punganur taluk.

66. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 186.

67. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, part II, para 5, p. 30; *contra :* During the declining days of the Pallava power, a branch of the family might have migrated northwards to these parts and there carved out a principality for itself. The Palle-arasa of this record has been taken to be a Pallava ruler under whom the Vaiduṁba king was administering the village. The Palle-arasa cannot be identified with the Pallava-Dhavaḷa mentioned in an inscription, *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 173. (See *Ibid.*, p. 47).

68. *Ibid.*, 1933-34, part II, paras 5 and 6, pp. 30-31.

69. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 279-80 and plate A facing p. 279.

70. *Contra : Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 48; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 279, foot note 7.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 280, foot note 2.

73. *Contra: A.R. Ep.*, 1940-41, No. 445; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 279 ff.

74. *cf. Noḷaṁbi tōḷi kaiyyaṁbuna* meaning 'in the fight with Noḷaṁbi'. See *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, line 3 of the text of inscription *C*; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 246, line 4 of the text of inscription *L*; *Ibid.*, p. 246, lines 2 and 4 of the text of inscription *L*.

75. *Contra : A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, p. 47; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 299; *A.R.Ep.*, 1940-41, paras 24 and 25.

76. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 642.

77. *A.R.Ep.*, 1968-69, No. B. 9.

78. *Ibid.*, No. B. 3.

79. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 639.

80. *Ibid., contra : A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 342. It is stated that a certain Kāminī Bojaṅga Mārttāṇḍa fought with the king's forces and died.

81. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 639.

82. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 279.

83. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X. No. 640.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*, No. 629.

86. *Ibid.*, No. 638.

87. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914-15, No. 437.

88. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XVII, Cm. 169; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Kl. 200.

89. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, Cm. 169; *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1917, p. 40.

90. The battle of Tiruvuḷa is also referred to in an inscription from Yātavākili. This Kannaḍa record assignable to 9th century A.D., has been noticed by the author for the first time.

91. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 16.

92. *Ibid.*, *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No. 439.

93. The scribe introduced pun on the word *Raṇabhaṅgi*, which occurs twice in the inscription in lines 2 and 5. The expression *Raṇavijjādharan* is a corruption of Sanskrit term *Vidyādharan.* (*cf. Bāṇavijyādhara*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 39). This record has been greatly influenced by Telugu, Tamil and Prakṛit words. The hero Raṇabhaṅgi received the titles of which *e.g.*, "the mother's husband of those who steal their way into the palace of the king, (the hero) who thrusts a dagger into the mouths of good and bad men, who without admiring him try to excel him; and (the warrior) who splits the backs of those that rebel against his master", are somewhat queer.

94. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 628; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 16; *Ibid.*, Nos. 13 and 14; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 623; *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 292-93; *Ibid.*, 1962-63, No. B. 137; *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. B. 28.

95. *Contra*: The chief *Eṟegaṉ* of this record has been identified with the hero *Eṟeya* who died in the battle at Kōṭūru. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 634; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, part II, para 16, p. 100.
96. *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. B. 28.
97. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 185 and 188; R.S. Panchamukhi suggests that the Vaidumbas must have wrested Madanapalle and extended their territory on all sides so as to include in it the whole of the Rēnāṇḍu-7000 not earlier than the 9th century A.D.
98. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 60; *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nj. 269; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Kl. 90; *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1919, pp. 27 ff.
99. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 61; *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, part II, para 15, p. 92.
100. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, Nos. 47-48, pp. 99-100.
101. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1926, p. 87; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. 13.
102. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Si. 24 and 38; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 65.
103. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 384.
104. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 86; *Ibid.*, Bp. 48; *Ibid.*, Kl. 235.
105. *A.R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 197; *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 188.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 185; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 314.
107. *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 293.
108. *Ibid.*, No. 292.
109. *Contra*: *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 185.
110. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 623; *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 694.
111. *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. B. 28.
112. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 634.
113. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20.
114. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 79.
115. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20.
116. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 79.
117. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 318.
118. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 22; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.
119. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 190.
120. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 533; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192 and plate facing p. 190.
121. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 628.
122. *Ibid.*, No. 629.
123. *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B. 137.
124. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 250.
125. *J.M.U.*, Vol. XII, p. 993.
126. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 588.
127. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 189.
128. *J. Gau. U.*, Vol. II, p. 95.
129. For detailed discussion on the date of this battle, see Dhaky's paper *Cōḻa Sculptures*, in *Chhavi-Golden Jubilee Volume*, (1972), p. 267, foot note No. 14: "According to one reckoning, the Tirupurambiyam battle would have taken place in or around 885; (See Srinivasan, *Cave Temples*, pp. 15-16); Nilakanta Shastri also accepts that date. (See his: *A History of South India*, Third Edition, Madras, 1966, p. 175). Mahalingam prefers a third date-895-for the battle (See his *Kāñchīpuram*, p. 217). If the date 885 is valid, then it upsets the *Cōḻa* chronology which has to be reworked, which seems a difficult task in face of several other synchronisms now firmly established. Krishnan favours 879, first because one cannot explain the sudden disappearance in Cōḻanāḍu of Pāṇḍya inscriptions after 878, and second because of the appearance, instead, of the inscriptions quoting the regnal years of Rājakēsarivarman (Cōḻa Āditya I); for example at Tilaisthānam (8th year / 879), Tiruccatturai (10th and 13th year/881 and 884), Kīḻaiyūr (13th year / 884) and a few others, by which to infer the emergence of Āditya's power in the Kāvēri valley soon after 878".
130. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Sl. 38.
131. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 38.
132. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Nj. 204 (1974).
133. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 103.

134. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637.

135. *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B. 137. This record is assigned to *c.* 9th century A.D.

136. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637.

137. *A.R. Ep.*, 1970-71, B. 509; *Ibid.*, 1969-70, No. B. 3; *Ibid.*, 1962-63, B. 138.

138. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637.

139. *Ibid.*

140 *A.R.Ep.*, 1967-68, No. B. 17; *A.P.G.R. Ep.*, 1965, No. 14.

141. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 379, 383-84; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 106.

142. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 68-70 and plate facing, p. 70.

143. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 68.

144. *A.R.Ep.*, 1920, Nos. 572, 587 and 589.

145. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 282, foot-note No. 4.

146. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 67-70 and plate facing p. 70.

147. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 282.

148. *A.R.Ep.*, 1938, No. 196.

149. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

150. *AR.Ep.*, 1938, No. 196. This record mentions Be[ja] [yi*]ta as the father (*ayya*) of Bhuvanatriṇētra I̤rigiya.

151. *Ibid.*, 1967-68, No. 17.

152. *Ibid.*, 1938, No. 196.

153. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, No. 323.

154. *Ibid.*, part II, pp. 65-67, Text lines 1-52.

155. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 285 and plate facing p. 285.

156. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 142 ff.

157. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 743.

158. *Ibid.*, No. 16.

159. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 198.

160. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 636; *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 325.

161. *Ibid.*, 1938, No. 196.

162. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, Text of inscription *B*, pp. 283-84 and plates facing pp. 284-85, Sections I-III.

163. *A.R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 290.

164. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 68-70 and plate.

165. *A.R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 323.

166. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 282.

167. *Ibid.*, pp. 282-84.

168. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81. The characters of this record are later than those of inscription *A* from Kalakaḍa. The letters *i* and *b* are later forms *cf: Ibid.*, Text of inscription *A* and plate A, facing p. 279 and Bezawada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla in *Ibid.*, Vol. XV and plate facing p. 158.

169. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 32-33 and plates facing pp. 48-49.

170. It is interesting to note that the record is engraved in two sections. The first section in which the Vaiduṁbas are mentioned as potentates, probably also credits him with an epithet *Chōḷa-triṇētra.* The second section describes in glowing terms of a number of titles borne by a chief called Jaṭāchōḍa-Bhīma-Nṛipati and his achievements. Only at the end of this section, we hear of this chief being defeated at the hands of Chōḷa Rājarāja (I). Some scholars think that this is a record of Jaṭā-Chōḍa-Bhīma and not of Rājarāja on account of the fact that the major portion of the record relates to the former chief.

171. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 104-05.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

173. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07.

174. *A.R.Ep.*, 1968-69, No. B. 10; *Ep. Andh.* Vol. I, pp. 150-57.

175. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, inscription *C*, pp. 286-87.

176. *A.R.Ep.*, 1968-69, No. B. 10; *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. I, pp. 150-57 and plate facing p. 156.

177. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 2, verse 9.

178. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 7, verse 3; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 74-76, verse 31.

179. *A.R. Ep.*, 1899, No. 194; *Ibid.*, 1900, para 85, p. 31 ; *Ibid.*, 1906-07, part II,

para 46, p. 79; *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 388; *N.D.I.*, part III, p. 1201.

180. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 233, foot note No. 3.

181. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 32, verse 15.

182. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 230, foot note No. 5.

183. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 28, foot note No. 5.

184. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1936, p. 72.

185. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 76, line 21.

186. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 224; *Ibid.*, p. 226; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, p. 91; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 5; *Ibid.*, No. 11, respectively.

187. For further details see, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 230-34 and *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 70.

188. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 120.

189. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 272; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 157.

190. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 231.

191. R. Nagaswamy: *Chengam Naḍukaṟkaḷ*, p. 11; No. 1971/63; 1971/68; 1971/54.

192. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, p. 89.

193. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

194. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 7; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 75-76.

195. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 2-4.

196. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 172-77 and Text pp. 174-76; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 157.

197. *Ibid.*, Text, pp. 133-44 and plates facing p. 112.

198. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, Text p. 76, line 28 and plate facing p. 76; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 173.

199. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Introduction, pp. iv-v.

200. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34 and plates facing p. 112.

201. *Studies in Indian History and Culture: Prof. P.B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, K.G. Krishnan's article on *Raṭṭapāḍi-Seven And A Half Lakhs*, pp. 270-71, (Dharwar, 1971).

202. The Muḍiyanūr plates can palaeographically be assigned to 9th century A.D. The characters in this grant on an examination with the characters of Vakkalēri plates of Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II, dated Śaka 679 (= 757 A.D.) reveal clearly the 9th century features in general, and therefore, later than Vakkalēri grant. Particular attention may be drawn to the formation of the letters *y*, with a prominent loop at the left and *r* and *k* which display a stunted rectangular shape and *ḷ* which has the bottom loop completed, typical of 9th century writing. (See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 63 and plate facing translation p. 14; *Ibid.*, Mb. 157 and plates facing translation p. 112).

203. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 222 and pp. 224-25; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 524 and 526.

204. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 110.

205. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, p. 91 and plate facing p. 91.

206. *Trans. Arch. Soc. of S.I.*, 1958-59, pp. 21-22.

207. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 110.

208. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 107, lines 29-34.

209. *Proc. of I.H.C.* (1950), p. 97, footnote No. 9; *J.I.H.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 289-90.

210. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 59.

211. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 517.

212. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 278 and p. 280 and plate facing p. 281.

213. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, p. 91.

214. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 234.

215. *Ibid.*, p. 225; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 2; Vol. XI, p. 234.

216. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Nj. 402, (1974).

217. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Bp. 86.

218. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, Nos. 6 and 8.

219. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 328-30.

220. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 197 and plate facing p. 46.

221. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 6.

222. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 2.

223. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 78.
224. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 1.
225. *A.R. Ep.*, 1944, No. 145.
226. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 2.
227. *A.R.Ep.*, 1944, part II, para 7, p. 57.
228. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 581.
229. *A.R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 588.
230. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 93-94.
231. *A.R.Ep.*, 1938, No. 188; *contra* : *Ibid.*, part II.
232. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 226.
233. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 39; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sp. 6.
234. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 76.
235. N.L. Rao and R.S. Panchamukhi : *Karṇāṭakada arasu manetanagaḷu*, p. 226; *contra* : *A.R.Ep.*, 1936, part II, para 21, p. 65.
236. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, Nos. 47 and 48, pp. 99-100.
237. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 380.
238. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 181.
239. *A.R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 318.
240. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20.
241. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 164.
242. *Contra : Ibid.*, part II, para 7, p. 31. Mahārāja is stated therein to have hailed from Chemmaṅgūru.
243. *Ibid.*, Nos. 168 and 170.
244. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 196 and plate facing p. 46.
245. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 2.
246. *Ibid.*, No. 3.
247. *Ibid.*, No. 4.
248. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sp. 6.
249. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 187 and plate facing p. 49. This record has been assigned to the middle of 9th century in the report.
250. *Ibid.*, part II, para 4, p. 46.
251. *Ibid.*, No. 195.
252. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 11.
253. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 92.
254. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part 1, No. 11.
255. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 580.
256. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Si. 38.
257. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 38.
258. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Si. 38.
259. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 60, foot note No. 1.
260. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 64.
261. N.L. Rao : *Op. cit.*, p. 177.
262. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Nj. 204 (1974).
263. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Gb. 4.
264. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 188.
265. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gb. 4.
266. *Contra* : *Karṇāṭakada araśu manetanagaḷu*, pp. 175-76.
267. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81-88.
268. *A.R. Ep.*, 1969, Introduction. p. 5.
269. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gb. 4.
270. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 5.
271. *Ibid.*, Nos. 5 and 11.
272. *Ibid.*, No. 20.
273. *Ibid.*, No. 4.
274. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 227.
275. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Part I, No. 44.
276. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 14.
277. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 13.
278. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1921, p. 10, lines 55-56.
279. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 103, lines 67-68.
280. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1919, p. 23, lines 59-64.
281. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 103-04, verses 14-15.
282. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 227, see also note 275. above.
283. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
284. *A.R.Ep.*, 1971, No. 458.
285. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 227-28.
286. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, No. 48.
287. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 227.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
289. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 3.
290. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 383-84.
291. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 112; *A.R. Ep.*, 1921, No. 559.
292. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 76. p. 375.
293. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 86-88.
294. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 224, verses 9

and 20; *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, verse 58.

295. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, Nos. 229 and 230.

296. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 12.

297. *Ibid.*, No. 7.

298. *Ibid.*, No. 10.

299. *Ibid.*, No. 9.

300. *Contra* : *Ibid.*, No. 32.

301. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 76.

302. *A.R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. 160.

303. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 76.

304. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 56; *A.R.Ep.*, 1929, No. 144.

305. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 561; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 54 ff.

306. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cl. 8; *Ibid.*, Cl. 33 and 34.

307. *Ibid.*

308. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 57, foot note No. 3.

309. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 108 and pp. 264 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 267; *Kan. Dyn.*, p. 465.

310. Śaka, 815, Paridhāvi, Āshāḍha, śu. 5, Bṛihaspativāra, Pūrva-Phālguni (Jupiter in Dhanus) = 892 A.D., June 3 (But the week-day was Saturday and the *nakshatra* Maghā); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 65.

311. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 561.

312. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20.

313. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 560.

314. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cl. 33 and 34.

315. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Nj. 402 (1974).

316. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, verse 18.

317. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 47.

318. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Mb. 38.

319. *Ibid.*, Mb. 50.

320. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 23; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Si. 24 and 38.

321. *Contra* : Rice assigns the two undated records from Āvaṇi to *c.* 890 A.D. He suggests that Divalabbarasi, was the queen of Noḷaṁba Mahēndra, a Kadamba prince (See *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Introduction, pp. 19 and 21).

322. *Contra* : Indian Culture, Vol. VI, pp. 432-35.

323. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 30.

324. *Ibid.*, No. 39.

325. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 367 (1941); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 61-62.

326. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 79.

327. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 581.

328. *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 588.

329. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 561.

330. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 4.

331. N.L. Rao thinks that the Bāṇa adversary, whom Mahēndra I killed should have been either, Malladēva or his father Vijayāditya I. His argument is based on two reasons : *viz.*, that Bāṇavidyādhra was a contemporary of Mahēndra I and the achievements of Malladēva are not mentioned in the Guḍimallam plates (See *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 28 ff). This view cannot be accepted as Malladēva and Vijayāditya I were not the contemporary Bāṇa kings of Mahēndra I.

332. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 11.

333. Kings of Vaṁga, Pauṇḍrā, Magadha, Kōśaḷa, Kāliṅga, Āndhra and Dramiḷa are described as his enemies (*asuhṛidaḥ*). The term Dramiḷa may possibly refer to the Noḷaṁbas. (See *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1919, lines 56-58; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 103, lines 63 and plate facing p. 101; *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1921, p. 10, lines 53-54).

334. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Si. 38.

335. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1921, p. 10, lines 54-56.

336. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 103, lines 64-66.

337. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 561.

338. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 18.

339. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 561; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, Nos. 57 and 58; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 57; *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Jl. 29.

340. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 104-05, verse 23; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Hg. 23 (1974).

341. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p.

104, (1974).

342. *A. R. Ep.*, 1967-68, No. B 242; *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. B 175.

343. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 198.

344. *Contra* : *Ibid.*, part II, para 7, p. 48; *Ibid.*, 1913, part II, para 13, p. 90.

345. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 112-13.

346. *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 193.

347. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 193, verse 24; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 77.

348. *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, No. 61; *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 200.

349. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 331.

350. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 39.

351. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

352. *J.T.A.*, Vol. 49 (Miḍutūru record of Jaḍachōṛi-mahārāju), pp. i-vii and plate.

353. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 41.

354. *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 208.

355. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 41.

356. *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 208.

357. *Contra* : *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, pp. 429 ff.

358. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 366 ff.

359. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 74.

360. *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 326.

361. *Contra* : *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 188, foot note No. 3.

362. *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 337.

363. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 338 and plate facing p. 338 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIV, Introduction, p. i.

364. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 41.

365. *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 333.

366. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, Nos. 47-48, pp. 99-100.

367. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 87.

368. *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 318.

369. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 177.

370. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 187-88.

371. *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 177.

372. *Ibid.*, No. 172.

373. *Ibid.*, No. 201.

374. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 112-13; *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, part II, para 6, p. 47.

375. *Ibid.*, No. 201.

376. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 299.

377. *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 198.

378. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 235.

379. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sp. 59.

380. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 170.

381. *Ibid.*, No. 168. One of these inscriptions referring to Maṅgala from Eṭūru in Punganur taluk (*Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 219) mentions the engraver Vikramāditya Bahuguṇatēja, son of Bejayitāchāri of Kōyātūr. This engraver is different from his name-sake of the Kāpalle inscription assigned to Kṛishṇa II (*Ibid.*, 1933-34, No. 168). The two inscriptions put together will yield three generations of the family of engravers, *viz.*, Vikramāditya Bahuguṇatēja, his son Bejayitāchāri and the latter's son Vikramāditya Bahuguṇatēja. It is apparent that these three engravers served the kings of the Bāṇa dynasty.

382. *Ibid.*, No. 164.

383. The identification of this Mahārāja with a Vaiduṁba king on the basis of this family name (See M. Venkataramayya's unpublished Thesis on *Telugu Chōḷas*) is precluded since Mahārāja, which may be after all a personal name, is stated to have hailed from Chemmagūru. Further, there is no evidence to say that the Vaiduṁba might have attacked either the Bāṇa or Rāshṭrakūṭa since he is known to be an ally of both.

384. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 112 ff.

385. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, Nos. 236 and 237.

386. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-90.

387. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 236.

388. *Ibid.*, No. 180.

389. *Ibid.*, No. 181.

390. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 249.

391. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, Nos. 236, 237, 180, 219, 182, 178 and 176.

392. *Ibid.*, No. 236.

393. *Ibid.*, 1906, Nos. 580, 579, 583, 582, 578 and 581.

394. *Ibid.* No. 580.

395. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 43.

396. *Chhavi-Golden Jubilee* Vol. : Cōḷa Sculptures, p. 265, foot note No.5, (1972)—"Shri Krishnan, who checked this point for me, is in favour of 850 as a mean date of the event on the basis of certain synchronisms indirectly inferred, as he tells me, between Pallava Nṛpatuṅga and Vijayālaya Cōḷa". "Vijayālaya Cōḷa may, as Krishnan has other evidence, have come to the throne atleast about a decade before 866".

397. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 529.

398. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 113.

399. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 529; *The Cōḷas*, p. 115.

400. This is attested to by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 205, verse 49) and Kanyākumāri inscription (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 142, verse 55).

401. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 286; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 113.

402. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 286.

403. *Ibid.*, 1907, No. 61.

404. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 50; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

405. *A.R.Ep.*, 1970-71, No. B. 11.

406. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 200.

407. *Ibid.*, No. 236.

408. *Ibid.*, No. 174.

409. *Ibid.*, 1946-47, No. 26.

410. *Ibid.*, No. 26, Text, lines 2-4.

411. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 200.

412. *Ibid.*, 1913, part II, para 11; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 139, foot note No. 60(a); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 35-38.

413. *A.R.Ep.*, 1946-47, No. 26.

414. *Ibid.*, 1942-43, No. B 150.

415. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 526.

416. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 587.

417. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 526.

418. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 587.

419. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 521.

420. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 188; *A.R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 253.

421. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 323.

422. *Ibid.*, No. 300, *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 18/384 G.T.

423. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 297.

424. *Ibid.*, No. 313.

425. *The Cōḷas*, p. 470.

426. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 375.

427. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, part II, para 21, p. 59.

428. *The Cōḷas*, p. 188.

429. *A.R.Ep.*, 1970-71, No. B. 10; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 15/214-15 G.T. and 17/212 G.T.

430. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 315.

431. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 19/20 T.T.

432. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 320.

433. *Ibid.*, No. 319.

434. *Ibid.*, No. 326.

435. This is obviously derived from the Sanskrit word *mālikā*, an architectural term.

436. This patronymic prefix assumed by the chief Rājēndraśōḻaṉ indicates that his father might have served Rājēndra I.

437. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 20/210 G.T.; *contra* : This record has been fixed palaeographically in the third quarter of the 11th century, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

438. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 124.

439. *Ibid.*, No. 125.

440. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 312.

441. *Ibid.*, No. 182.

442. The Annual Report on Epigraphy explains the term *samayas* as religious denominations (*A.R. Ep.*, 1913, part II, para 25, p. 100) which is not correct. *Samaya* as applied to mercantile organization would only mean a 'convention' for, these organizations consisted of members, professing various religions.

443. *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. I, pp. 150-57.

444. Another instance where a similar

convention of the merchants met to declare a town as *Eṛivīrapaṭṭaṇa* is recorded in the Kāṭṭūr inscription *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 256. This record is in characters of 11th century A.D. Yet another instance is known from an inscription from Ūruguppe, near Kempanapura, T. Narasipur taluk in Mysore district. It records the conversion of a *brahmadēya* village called Vēlūr *alias* Rājādhirāja-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam in Padi-nāḍu in Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam into an Eṛivīra-paṭṭaṇam. Also the provision made for the merchant caravans etc., is referred to in this record (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 138).

445. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 302.

446. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 311.

447. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 541.

448. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 301.

449. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, 241-65.

450. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 331.

451. *A.R.Ep.* 1906, No. 541.

452. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 263, lines 169-79.

453. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 197-98; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 301.

454. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 108.

455. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 573.

456. *Ibid.*, No. 537.

457. *Ibid.*, 1913, part II, para 25, p. 100; *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 342.

458. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XXX, pp. 284-85.

459. They are in Grantha and Tamil characters of 11th century A.D.

460. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 241-66; Also see, lines 160-68, 169-70 and 173-74 of the Tamiḻ passage of the grant.

461. See the article on *Muḍakkāṛu* by Dr. B.R. Gopal in *Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, pp. 62-64, (1971).

462. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 573.

463. *Ibid.*

464. *Ibid.*, No. 540.

465. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 202.

466. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 556.

467. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, No. 29, pp. 60 and 62.

468. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 302.

469. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 540.

470. *Ibid.*, 1922, Nos. 90 and 95.

471. *Ibid.*, No. 86.

472. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 553.

473. The king has been identified with Kulōttuṅga III (*Ibid.*, 1915, No. 266). In the absence of information regarding the grandson of this chief, who might have borne the same, name, we do not see any reason why the chief of the later inscription should not be identified with the founder of this temple. If so, the king of the Brahmadēśam record will have to be identified with Kulōttuṅga I and not with Kulōttuṅga III.

474. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 141.

475. *Ibid.*, No. 151.

476. *Ibid.*, No. 157.

477. *Ibid.*, No. 158.

478. *Ibid.*, No. 157.

479. *Ibid.*, 1951-52, No. 169.

480. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 556.

481. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 432.

482. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 131.

483. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No 24/382 G.T.

484. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 298.

485. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 331.

486. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 202.

487. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 433.

488. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 130.

489. *Ibid.*, No. 150.

490. *Ibid.*, No. 95.

491. *Ibid.*, No. 90.

492. *Ibid.*, No. 91.

493. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 284-85 ff.

494. *A.R. Ep.*, 1968-69, Introduction, p. 10.

495. *Ibid.*, 1958-59, No. 64.

496. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 95.

497. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 511.

498. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 100.

499. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 295.

500. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 155.
501. *Ibid.*, No. 111.
502. *Ibid.*, No. 112.
503. *Ibid.*, No. 103.
504. *Ibid.*, No. 108.
505. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 41 and 49.
506. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 102.
507. *Ibid.*, 1915, No. 316.

5

Chittoor from 12th to 13th Century

It will be seen from the discussion in the previous chapter that Chōḷa hegemony in Chittoor was by and large exercised by the officers posted for the purpose upto the times of Kulōttuṅga I. We see the emergence of feudatories for the first time under Kulōttuṅga I. In the early part of his reign the Iruṅgōḷas seem to have had the control over the area for a very short period. Only two records[1] of the Iruṅgōḷa chief Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ[2] are found in the district. This has already been discussed (*Vide*, pp. 67-68).

THE YĀDAVARĀYAS

Sometime about the end of Kulōttuṅga I's reign, a family of chieftains hailing from Karuppāṟu commenced to rule over this area. Here we may give an account of these chiefs.

The early members of this family assumed the title *Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ*[3] or *Kanuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ*.[4] Some other epithets that they bore were *Chaḷukyakulabhūshaṇa*, *Vēṅgīpuravarā* [*dhīśvara**], *Gōdāvarīvallabha*,[5] *Karavā*[*ḷabhairava**], ... *hastīśa-pādārādaka*, ... [*samastavidyādhara*]-*bhūshaṇa* etc., and *Chāḷukkikulabhūshaṇa*, *Vēṅgīvallabha*, *Gōdāvarītīra-Karuppāṟ-puravarādhīśvara*, *Vēṅkaṭanātha-pādārādhaka*, *parabalasādhaka* etc.[6] Some of these titles seem to throw some light upon the place of their origin. They obviously belonged to a collateral family of the Chālukyas and since they are associated in one of their epithets with Vēṅgi, it would appear that they had some connections with the Eastern Chālukyas. Kanuppāṟupura may be identical with Kanuparti, Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district, on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. This perhaps explains their other epithet *Gōdāvarīvallabha*. However, it may be noted that, in a record of Rājādhirāja II, dated in his 11th year (1176-77 A.D.), there is a reference to Karuppāṟṟu-nāḍu in

Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam.[7] This would, on the other hand, indicate that these chiefs might have as well hailed from Karuppāṟṟu-nāḍu situated in Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam, which is to be identified with the Tirupati region. This explains their title *Vēṅkaṭanāthapādārādhaka*[8] indicating their devotion to the lord Veṅkaṭa. It would thus be reasonable to surmise that originally these chiefs belonged to the region around Gōdāvarī (*Gōdāvarītīra*,[9] *Gōdāvarī-vallabha*)[10] and that later on migrated to the Tiruvēṅgaḍakōṭṭam area. They had assumed also the title [*Kāḷa*] *hastīśa-pādārādhaka*[11].

We have already seen above that Nāraṇadēvaṉ, father of Puḍōli-araśaṉ was a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga I. His son Puḍōli-araśaṉ appears to have succeeded the father during the last year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. As the record of the 9th year (1126-27 A.D.) of Vikramachōḷa refers to the construction of the temple by this chief for the merit of his father, we will have to assume that Nāraṇadēvaṉ had by the time of that record passed away.

The next chief that belongs to this family is Ghaṭṭidēva. The Yōgimallavaram inscription,[12] dated in the 15th year (1132-33 A.D.) of Vikramachōḷa refers to a chief (name lost) of this family bearing the characteristic titles. But the name of this chief is not preserved completely. The latter part of the name *i.e.*, '*dēvan*' can be made out from the record. Another record of this king from Kāḷahasti,[13] the date of which is lost, records a gift of land to brāhmaṇas and mentions a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ghaṭṭidēva-mahārāja *alias* Vikramachōḷa Kanuppāṟuḍaiyār and further refers to his father ([*ta**] *mappaṇār*) Puḍōli-araiyar *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-[Kanuppāṟudaiyāṉ*]. We have Ghaṭṭidēva's records dated in the 6th regnal year (1138-39 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga II[14] and also in the 6th[15] (1151-52); 9th[16] (1154-55 A.D.) and 11th[17] regnal years (1156-57 A.D.) of Rājarāja II. This Puḍōli-araśaṉ was called Kulōttuṅgaśōḷak-karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ when he was a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga I and changed his title to *Vikramaśōḷak-karuppāruḍaiyaṉ* with the accession of Kulōttuṅga I's successor Vikramachōḷa. From other available evidences also we know that Puḍōḷi-araśaṉ and also his son Ghaṭṭidēva were feudatories under Vikramachōḷa. The latter continued to hold sway even under Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II. Why is it that Puḍōli-araśaṉ is known in the record of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷak-kanuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ, an earlier title? Since his son also was a feudatory under Vikramachōḷa, can we say that it was an attempt on the part of Ghaṭṭidēva to bring out a distinction between himself and his father?

In the record of Ghaṭṭidēva[18] falling in the 6th year (1138-39 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga II, we find the title *Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-yādavarāyaṉ*, while in all earlier records, he and his predecessors were known by their title *Kanuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ*. Even in later records we find this chief as well as his successors described as *Yādavarājan* or *Yādavarāyaṉ*. It is this name 'Yādavarāyaṉ' that is generally taken to be the family name of these chiefs. Ghaṭṭidēva[19] had the title *Chaḷukkinārāyaṇaṉ* also.[20]

A minister (*pradhāni*) of this Ghaṭṭidēva figures in a record from Chāpalapalle,[21] Venkatagiri taluk, Nellore district. It refers to a gift made by the *pradhāni* Kāntarāyan of Toṇḍaimānāṟṟūr (same as Toṇḍaimānāḍ, Kalahasti taluk, Chittoor district) to the god Yādavanārāyaṇaperumāḷ, apparently installed formerly in memory of a chief of this family who was called *yādavanārāyaṇa*. The installation of this deity at *Agaram* Nāgapuḍōl *alias* Rājamalla-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, which was perhaps the ancient name of Chāpalapalle seems to suggest that, that area also was under the jurisdiction of this Yādavarāya chief.

From the available evidence we learn that Ghaṭṭidēva had more than one queen.

One of them, described as *Yādavakulamādēvi*, was the daughter of Śīyagaṅga. The Kāḷahasti epigraph records a vow made by Yādavakulamādēvi, that if she survived Ghaṭṭidēva *alias* Yādavarāyadēva, she would become the servant of the queens of Ghaṭṭidēva described as the daughters of Pottappichōḷamārāsar and that if the latter survived, they should become the servants of her own servant.[22] The record does not disclose the identity of that Telugu-chōḍa father-in-law who is simply referred to as Pottappichchōḷamārāsar. It is also not clear as to how many daughters of this chief were given in marriage to Ghaṭṭidēva. Bēta II and his brother Siddharasa, the sons of Dāyabhīma I were the senior contemporaries of this Yādavarāya chief. It is possible that one of them was the father of his Telugu-chōḍa queens. The presence of Vimalāditya, son of Siddharasa at Kāḷahasti seems to suggest the possibility of Siddharasa being the father-in-law.[27]

The last known date of Ghaṭṭidēva is 1156-57 A.D.[24] It is possible that Ghaṭṭidēva might have extended his rule beyond 1156-57 A.D. and the reign of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya, his successor began earlier than 1174-75 A.D. A record from Chāpalapalle, Venkatagiri division, Nellore district refers to Ghaṭṭidēva's son Rājamalla,[25] who is described as *bhujabala siddharasan*. Another record from Kāḷahasti dated in the 30th year (1207-08 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III, which mentions the gift of entire lands in Kūṟṟuppūṇḍi to the deity of the Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti, to provide for offerings and to construct a chariot for the processional deity by Rājamalla Yādavarāya.[26] The gift was actually conveyed by the Chittiramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar after receiving the value of lands. However, there is no specific reference in the record to the region over which this king was ruling over.[27]

We have records of different dates ranging from 1174-75 to 1315 A.D.[28] which reveal the names of three chiefs of this family. They are Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva who seems to be identical with his namesake described as *tanininṟuvenṟa*,[29] Narasiṅgaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēvan *alias* Rājādarāja-yādavarāyaṉ,[30] who is already referred to, and Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II.[31] It may be noticed that in a long period of about 140 years, names of only three chiefs are available. This would indicate a long period of rule for each one of them and it is in this connection different views have been put forward by scholars.[32]

On the basis of the available evidence, we have suggested that Ghaṭṭidēva was succeeded by Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I, who in turn was succeeded by Nārasiṅgaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ. This Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ's successor was Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II. Unfortunately the relationship of these chiefs is not known and it is only by inference that their genealogy has to be reconstructed. Another point that has to be noted in this connection is the overlapping dates[33] of these chiefs which has made the issue more complicated. For example, we have records of Vīra Nārasiṁhadēva I who appears to have succeeded Ghaṭṭidēva, dated 1174-75 A.D., 1175-76 A.D.,[34] 1180-81 A.D.[35] 1209-10 A.D.[36] and even upto 1229-30 A.D.[37] *i.e.*, for about 55 years. In the record of 1177 A.D., already noticed above we find mention of Narasiṅgaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēva and, on the analogy of an earlier member of this family who took the name of his father as prefix, we may surmise that this Tirukkāḷattidēva was the son of Nārasiṅgaṉ and since we have records of this Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I dated 1174-75 A.D., we have surmised that he must be the father of Tirukkāḷattidēva.

It also appears that these chiefs were in charge of the regions almost together because in 1174-75 A.D., we have Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I while in 1177 A.D. we find

Nārasingaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēva. In 1180-81 A.D. we have Vīra Nārasiṅgadeva I,[33] while in the record of 1190-91 A.D.,[39] Puḍōḷimādēviyār, queen of Tirukkāḷattidēva is referred to. This would indicate the joint rule of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I and Tirukkāḷattidāva.

We have the records of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya I from Kāḷahasti dated in the 12th (1174-75 A.D.) and 13th years (1175-76 A.D.) of Rājādhirāja II[40]. The former of these two epigraphs records a gift of 46 sheep for half a lamp by *talaiyāri* Tammināyakaṉ Puḍōli Bhīmaṉ, one of the *Pradhānis* of Siddhiyaraiyar of Nellūru. Siddhiyaraiyar may be identical with Nallasiddharasan (*c.* 1160-1217), the contemporaneous Telugu-chōḍa chief.

In the record of the 32nd year (1209-10 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III, Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I bore the title *Tanininṟuveṉṟa*[41] along with other epithets like *Vēṅgīvallabha*, *Gōdāvarītīra Karavāḷabhairava*, *śrī Kāḷahastiśapādārādhaka*, *Kanuppāṟupuravarādhīśvara*, etc., which have been assumed by the earlier chiefs of this family (*vide*: discussion on the earlier chiefs.). Even in the later records of Rājarāja III dated between 1219-20 A.D.[42] and 1223-24 A.D.,[43] we find this chief having assumed the same title *i.e.*, *Tanininṟuveṉṟa*. Since he figures as a *mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* bearing the above titles and his records are dated in the regnal years of both Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III, as a subordinate he must have been in power till the latter's 14th regnal year *i.e.*, 1229-30 A.D.[44] This title *Tanininṟuveṉṟa* borne by him is evidently due to some heroic deed performed by him in the course of the numerous campaigns of the Chōḷa king, though it is difficult to be more specific in the present state of our knowledge. This chief is described as the ruler of this nāḍu (*i[ṉ-n]āḍuḍaiya*) *i.e.*, Tirukkuḍavūrnāḍu in a record of the 9th year (1224-25 A.D.) of Rājarāja III from Yōgimallavaram.[45]

That Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva had a daughter named Śōḷavvaiyār is known from the records of this region and Kāñchīpuram. She figures as a donatrix in an inscription from Kāḷahasti dated in the 10th regnal year (1187-88 A.D.) of Tribhuvanachakravarti Vīrarājēndra *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga III.[46] An undated inscription from Kāḷahasti records the grant of 16 *gaṇḍagōpālan-māḍai* for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Kāḷahastīśvara by the daughter (name not given) of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvar *alias* Yādavarāyar, who seems to be described as the queen of Tirukkāḷa[ttidēva], the son of Madhurāntakappottappichchōḷa Manumaśiddaraśar.[47] Another inscription from Kāñchīpuram dated in the 7th year of Alluntikka-mahārāja *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla refers to Lakshmīdēvi, the daughter of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvaṉ as one of the queens of a Gaṇḍagōpāla. Tirukkāḷattidēva, son of Manumaśiddharaśaṉ is described as a *Gaṇḍagōpālaṉ* in two inscriptions dated in the 19th (1234-35 A.D.) and 21st (1236-37 A.D.) years of Rājarāja III.[48] The queens bearing the name Lakshmīdēvi mentioned in both the inscriptions from Kaḷahasti and Kāñchīpuram are obviously identical. This also establishes the identity of Alluntikka with Tirukkāḷattidēva, son of Manumaśiddaraśa. It is, therefore, clear that Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya had another daughter Lakshmīdēvi by name who was given in marriage to the above mentioned Tirukkāḷa[ttidēva] also called Alluntikka a Telugu-Chōḍa chief[49] and that she was called also Śōḷavvaiyār on account of the fact that she was the queen of a Telugu-Chōḍa chief.

An important event is referred to in an inscription from Yōgimallavaram, Puttur taluk, dated in the 6th year (1221-22 A.D.)[50] of Rājarāja III. It records a gift made by Pokkaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍiyataraiyar, son of Parasamayakōḷariyāṇḍār, for the merit of his nephew (*marumagaṉ*) Nārāyaṇapiḷḷai.[51] The latter is stated to have died after stabbing

Kāḍavarāyar in the course of a battle (*pūśal*) at Uratti between Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāyar and Kāḍavarāya.[52] This battle was apparently only one of many battles fought between various chieftains in the northern parts of the Chōḷa kingdom. Uratti has been identified with Oratti in Madurantakam taluk, Chingleput district.

T.V. Mahalingam[53] has identified the chief Kāḍavarāya of this record with Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Vīravīraṉ-Kāḍavarāyar[54] son of Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandāṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyar. This chief claims in his inscriptions to have conquered Toṇḍaināḍu and assumes the title *Vaḍa-vēṅgaḍa veṟpa* [*ṉ*].[55] This claim as well as the title could not be considered to be complete or genuine because we find that Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva-yādavarāya I continued to have control over the region around Vēṅgaḍam and adjoining areas. He does not acknowledge the suzerainty of any other king. Further, it should be noted that the Kāḍavarāya mentions only the battle of Sēvūr without reference to any foe while the Yādavarāya refers to the battle of Uratti fought against Kāḍavarāyar. This Kāḍavarāya has been identified with Kōpperuñjiṅga I.[56]

Tirukkāḷattidéva Yādavarāyaṇ

Tirukkāḷattidēva, the next Yādavarāya chief, as stated above ruled jointly with his father Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya. The Kāḷahasti record that refers to this chief is dated in the 11th year of Rājādhirāja II.[57] It refers to him as Narasiṅgaṇ Tirukkāḷattidēvaṇ *alias* Rājādarāja (Rājādhirāja) Yādavarāyaṇ.[58] The details of date given in the record Vaikāśi, 2[3]. ba. 2, Mūla, Monday, regularly correspond to 1177 A.D., May 16, which was the 23rd day of the solar month. This chief was evidently son of Nārasiṅgadēva and his title *Rājādhiraja-Yādavarāyaṇ* explains his service under Rājādhirāja II. Narasiṅgaṇ in his name was his father's name that was prefixed to the name of this chief, as it was the practice of the day.

Tirukkāḷattidēva had a queen Puḍōli-mādēviyār by name, who is stated to have donated 32 cows for a perpetual lamp in the temple at Kāḷahasti in the 13th year (1190-91 A.D.) of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulōttuṅgachōladēva *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga III.[59] Another inscription from Kalahasti, Kalahasti taluk dated in the 10th year of Rājarāja III (1225-26 A.D.) refers to Chaḷukkikula-mādēviyār, daughter of Śiṅgarasar as having granted 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity at Tirukkāḷatti[60]. It is not known whether the two persons mentioned by name in the former and title in the latter are identical. The interval between the records is about 34 years which is not an impossible period of life of one individual if both were the same. It will be however correct to hold that both were different, until otherwise proved.[61]

The Rāmagiri record dated in the 8th year (1223-24 A.D.) of Chōḷa king Rājarāja III refers to a *mahārāja* Yādavarāja bearing the titles *samasta-sakala-bhuvana ma*[*ṇḍ*] *alikāśraya*, *Pīṭhadēvīlabdha*[*va*]*raprasāda* [*Kāñchī*]*puravarādhīśvara*, *chandrakula tilaka*, *Chaḷukkinārāyaṇa*, *saṁgrāmarāma*, etc., indicating his subordination under the Chōḷa king.[62] The personal name of this chief is not revealed in this record. But since it is dated practically in the last years of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I, father of Tirukkāḷattidēvaṇ, and the son as indicated above, was a subordinate of Rājarāja III and ruled jointly with the father, in all probability it is the son *i.e.*, Tirukkāḷattidēvaṇ[63] who is described here. This record seems to record the gift of the villages Tirukkāḷattidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Chōḷa-nāḍu as a tax-free *kāṇi* for the merit of a certain Svāmidēvar[64], the preceptor to the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kings. We learn from this record that Yādavarāya also honoured him with such lavish gifts as recorded in this inscription. The name of the pontiff mentioned in the record is not given.

Two *Pradhānis* of this chief are known to us.[65] One was Kaḍuvēḷi-vishaya-Sēnāpati Sūrappōttan *alias* Aṅgarāyan,[66] the other was, Kāḍap[ō]yan Eṟiyappōttan *alias* Adigaimān.[67] The titles *Aṅgarāyan* and *Adigaimān* were respectively the official designations conferred on them by this chief. The Yādavarāyar, whose *pradhānis* they are described to be, could be identified only with Tirukkāḷattidēva, since his father, Nārasiṅgadēva is not known to have lived upto 1245-46 A.D. in which the second of the two mentioned above falls. This is the latest date available for this chief within the Chittoor district.[68] But he seems to have reigned for one more year at least (*i.e.*, 1246-47), according to an inscription from Ātmakūr, Nellore district dated Śaka 1168 (1246-47 A.D.).[69] It is possible that Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ might have ruled for a few more years, the earliest known date for his son and successor Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II being 1253-54 A.D.[70]

Tirukkāḷattidēva had a son by name Śiṅgapiḷḷai also called *Vīra-rākshasa-yādavarājaṉ*. He is known to have made a grant of 2001 *kuḻi* of land as *sarvamānya iṟaiyili* for *tirumandira-pōnagam* to the deity Tirukkāḷatti Uḍaiyār in the 15th year (1192-93 A.D.) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III.[71] Since the date of this chief falls before the last date of Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ-Yādavarāya, this chief might have predeceased his father.

VĪRA NĀRASIṄGA II

The next Yādavarāya chief after Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ Yādavarāya known to us from this area is Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva (II). A record from Guḍimallam[72] dated Śaka 1208 (1286-87 A.D.) records an order of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva pertaining to some arrangements made for irrigation. A few records from Tirumala, Tirupati are dated in the regnal years of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya ranging from 12th to 51st year. One of them is dated in the 34th regnal year of this chief and contains the details Mīna, ba, Prathamai, Thursday, Chittirai, which correspond regularly to 1299 A.D., March, 19.[73] This in turn yields 1264-65 A.D. as the date from which this chief began to reckon his own regnal years. The predecessors of this chief had all dated their records, in the regnal years of the Chōḷa kings attesting their loyalty to the Chōḷas. Records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I dated in his 3rd year (1253-54 A. D.)[74], 8th year (1257-58 A.D.)[75] and 12th year (1262-63 A.D.)[76] refer to this Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II as a subordinate. With the Pāṇḍya hegemony becoming more effective than that of the Chōḷas, this chief appears to have transferred his allegiance. Two inscriptions dated respectively in the 3rd (1253-54 A.D.)[77] and 12th (1262-63 A.D.)[78] years of this Pāṇḍya king are engraved on the bases of the first *gōpura* in the Tirumala temple. These dates are mentioned only in the body of the record as the dates from which the concerned transactions were to take effect.[79] The wordings of the drafts of these orders seem to indicate that the Pāṇḍya suzerainty was only nominal.[80]

Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II had a queen Yādavarāya-nāchchiyār, who is referred to have made some grants in the records from Tirumala and Tirupati. She is described as Nambirāṭṭiyār Yādavarāya-nāchchiyār in the records dated in the 12th (1276-77 A.D.),[81] 15th (1279-80 A.D.)[82] and 30th (1294-95 A.D.)[83] years of this chief.

He seems to have ruled upto his 51st regnal year, Rākshasa corresponding to 1315 A.D., after which date we do not hear of him.[84]

TIRUVEṄGAḌANĀTHA YĀDAVARĀYA

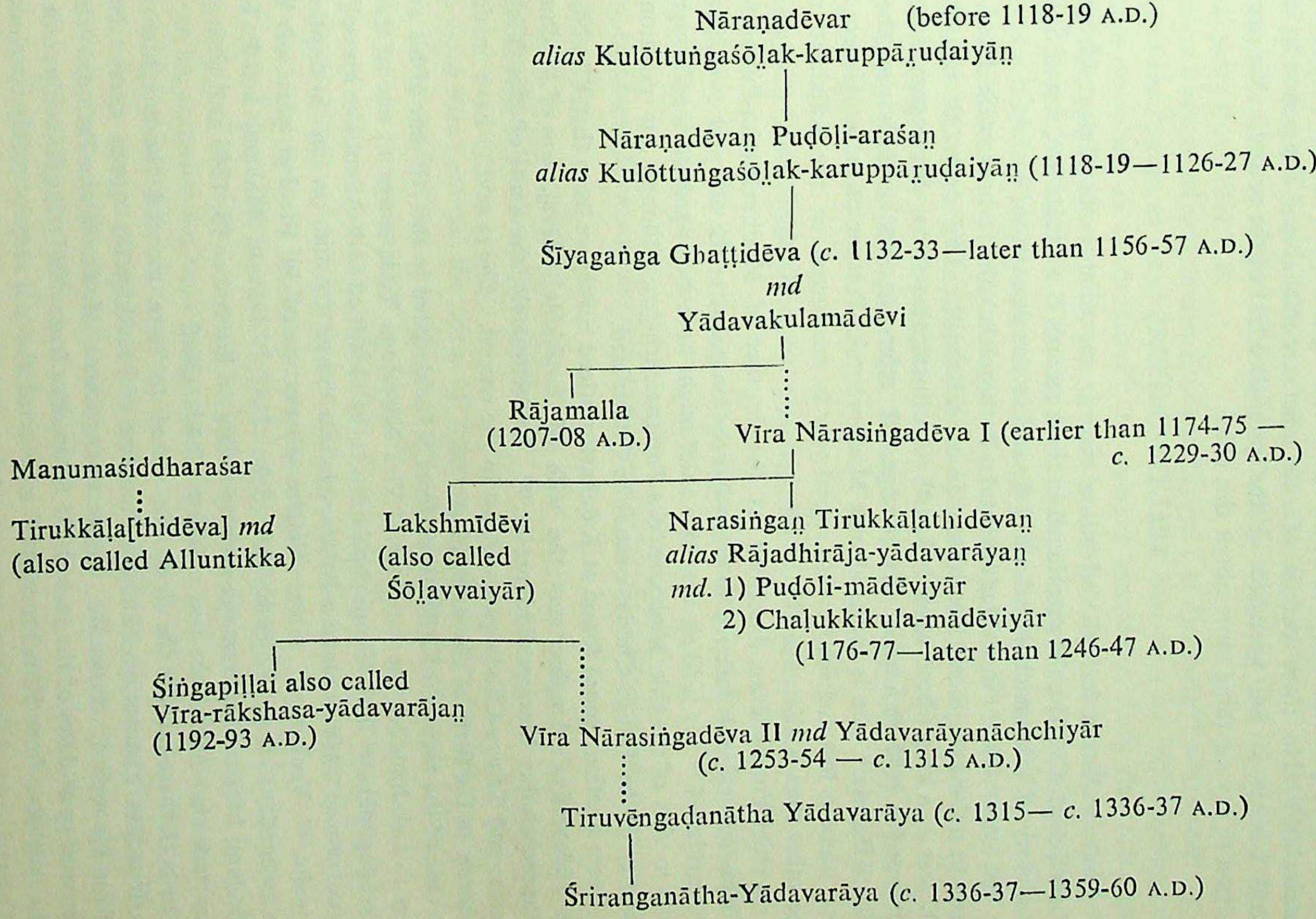
This next chief who succeeded Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II was Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāya. Of the few records available for him from Tirumala and Tirupati, two epigraphs are important from the point of view of fixing his date. One of these records the grant of Poṅgaḷūr *alias* Siṅgaṇanallūr in Illattūr-nāḍu by Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāyar in order to enable Immaḍi Rāhuttarāyaṉ Siṅgaya-deṇṇāyakar, to arrange for the institution of a festival in the month of Āḍi and a special service called *Sitakara-gaṇḍansandhi* in his own name (Siṅgaya-deṇṇāyaka's) for the deity Tiruvēṅgaḍam-uḍaiyāṉ.[85] Tirūvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāyar is described as *marumagaṉār* (son-in-law or nephew) probably of the general. This signifies a marital relationship between the Yādavarāyas and Daṇṇāyaka chiefs Siṅgaya-Daṇḍanāyaka is obviously indentical with the homonymous person well known as a general[86] under Ballāḷa III (1292-1342 A.D.). It is therefore clear that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāya must have succeeded Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya sometimes after 1315 A.D. Poṅgaḷūr was named Siṅgaṇa-nallūr, obviously after the general. The other inscription[87] refers to the exemption from various types of taxes levied on Poṅgaḷūr by this chief. It also refers to the grant of this village for a festival in the month of Āḍi and a *sandhi* instituted by Siṅgaya-Daṇṇayākar in the name of Rēchchaya-Deṇṇāyakar.[88] It may be noted that the two inscriptions agree in all details except in respect of the name Rēchchaya-Deṇṇāyakar. It is obvious that while the former epigraph records the grant of the village, the latter record pertains to the exemption from taxes thus making a substantial addition to make the endowment self-sufficient. The latter record is dated in the 8th+1st *i.e.*, the 9th regnal year of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāya. Two more records of this chief are dated in the 12th year which will be the highest known regnal year for him. Though the exact date of his accession is not known it can be safely assumed that the reign period of this chief fell between 1315 A.D. and 1336-37 A.D., the date of accession of Śrīraṅganātha-Yādavarāya.

ŚRĪRANGANĀTHA YĀDAVARĀYA

The next chief who succeeded Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāya was Śrīraṅganātha-Yādavarāya. His earliest known record is dated in the 3rd year of his reign.[89] The date when he commenced to reckon his own regnal years is known to be 1336-37 A.D. computed on the basis of the details of date given in an inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Saidapet taluk, *viz.*, 16th regnal year, Khara, Ṛishabha, ba. di. 14, Tuesday, Urōsaṇi corresponding regularly to A.D. 1351, May 24.[90] This would yield the year 1336-37 A.D. as his first year of rule.

During the period of this chief also the influence of the Hoysaḷa general is traceable. An inscription from Tirumala dated in the 3rd regnal year (1339-40 A.D.) of Śrīraṅga-nātha Yādavarāya records the creation of an endowment for the maintenance of a garden called Aricharaṇālayaṉ and two *maṭhas*, one at Tirumala and another at Tirupati in the name of *Mahāpradhāni* Immaḍi Rāhuttarāyaṉ Mādappaṉ Śiṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakar.[91] This general was obviously son of Mādappa and both of them are known to have served under Ballāḷa III.[92] The names of the two *maṭhas* are Sitakaragaṇḍaṉ Immaḍi Rāhu-ttarāyaṉ Śiṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakar-maḍam[93] and *Śrīman Mahāpradhāni* Immaḍi Rāhuttarā-

GENEALOGY OF THE YĀDAVARĀYAS


Nāraṇadēvar (before 1118-19 A.D.)
alias Kulōttuṅgaśōḻak-karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ
Nāraṇadēvaṉ Puḍōḷi-araśaṉ
alias Kulōttuṅgaśōḻak-karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ (1118-19—1126-27 A.D.)
Śīyagaṅga Ghaṭṭidēva (*c.* 1132-33—later than 1156-57 A.D.)
md
Yādavakulamādēvi
Rājamalla
(1207-08 A.D.)
Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva I (earlier than 1174-75 — *c.* 1229-30 A.D.)
Manumaśiddharaśar
Tirukkāḷa[thidēva] *md*
(also called Alluntikka)
Lakshmīdēvi
(also called
Śōḻavvaiyār)
Narasiṅgaṉ Tirukkāḷathidēvaṉ
alias Rājadhirāja-yādavarāyaṉ
md. 1) Puḍōli-mādēviyār
2) Chaḷukkikula-mādēviyār
(1176-77—later than 1246-47 A.D.)
Śiṅgapiḷḷai also called
Vīra-rākshasa-yādavarājaṉ
(1192-93 A.D.)
Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II *md* Yādavarāyanāchchiyār
(*c.* 1253-54 — *c.* 1315 A.D.)
Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya (*c.* 1315— *c.* 1336-37 A.D.)
Śriranganātha-Yādavarāya (*c.* 1336-37—1359-60 A.D.)

ryaṉ Śiṅgaya-Daṇṇāyākaṉ Sitakaragaṇḍaṉ-maḍam.[94]

The last date known for this chief, Śaka [12] 81, Vikāri (1359-60 A.D.) is obtained from a fragmentary inscription from Tirumala.[95]

Hōbaḷa (Ahōbala) Yādava is another Yādavarāya chief known to us from an undated solitary record which is in the form of a verse. He is described therein as *Tañjai Yādavarkōṉ*.[96] No more details of this chief are available. The period to which this record belongs is not specified in the published text of the record. We are not in a position to say anything more about this chief.

TELUGU-CHŌḌAS

Chittoor district has yielded some records mentioning the Telugu-Chōḍas. The earliest Telugu-Chōḍa chief mentioned in these records is Vimalāditya, son of Śiddharaśa, a feudatory of Vikramachōḷa, who had figured in our discussions earlier.

The next chief was Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷa, whose wife Nuṅkamādēvī figures as a donatrix in an inscription from Kāḷahasti. This epigraph is dated in the 19th year of a king whose name is lost.[97] An inscription from Śrīraṅgam dated in the 19th year (= 1195-96 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III refers to Nuṅkamādēvi, as the wife of Nallaśiddharaśa[98] who is identical with Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷa. Hence, the king whose name is lost and whose 19th regnal year is mentioned in the Kāḷahasti record is none other than Kulōttuṅga III.

A chief Vimaladēvaṉ, described as the brother of Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷa Ma[la]mādēvaraśar, is referred to in an inscription dated in the 6th year (=1221-22 A.D.) of Rājarāja III.[99] It is likely that this chief might have belonged to the Telugu-Chōḍa family in view of the title *Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷaṉ*, although his position in the genealogy of the Telugu-Chōḍas cannot be determined.

From another record found at Kāḷahasti noticed earlier we learn that Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya's daughter was the wife of Tirukkāḷa[ttidēva], son of Madhurāntaka Pottappichchōḷaṉ Manumaśiddharaśar.[100] Unfortunately, the name of this Yādavarāya princess and Telugu-Chōḍa queen is lost in the record. She is said to have made a gift of money in the form of *Gaṇḍagōpālaṉmāḍai.*

One of the records of Alluntikka from Kāñchi, dated in the 7th year of his own rule, refers to Lakshmīdēvi, the daughter of Vīra Nārasinga Yādavarāya as one of the queens of Gaṇḍagōpāla.[101] This Gaṇḍagōpāla has to be identified with Alluntikka himself. From the cognomen *Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷa* borne by him in an inscription from Niḍigallu,[102] Venkatagiri taluk, Nellore district dated in the 2nd year of Vīraśōḷa Tribhuvanadēva (*i.e.*, Rājēndra II), Śaka 1167, Viśvāvasu Makara, śu. 8, Tuesday, Uttirāḍam, Makara-saṅkramaṇa corresponding to December 26, 1245 A.D., it is possible to conclude that Alluntikka was a Telugu-Chōḍa chief.

In both these records the chiefs are stated to have married the daughter of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya although the name of Tirukkāḷatti's queen cannot be made out from his record. From the common cognomen *Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷa* and the proximity of dates of the records of Alluntikka from Niḍigallu, Kāñchīpuram and of Tirukkāḷattidēva from Kāñchīpuram[103] mentioned above it may be safely concluded that Tirukkāḷatti and Alluntikka are identical. Tirumala and Kāḷahasti where the two records of this Telugu-Chōḍa chief are found were certainly outside his domain.[104] These two are dated in his 5th[105] (= 1255-56 A.D.) and 7th[106] (=1257-58 A.D.) regnal years respectively. But as already shown by us the occurrence of these, dated in his own regnal years point to the cordial relationship he had with Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya through matrimony.

It will be seen that the Niḍigallu record wherein Alluntikka figures belongs to Rājēndra III. Its date falls in 1245 A.D. But the Kāḷahasti record[107] is dated in his own 7th regnal year corresponding to 1257-58 A.D. thereby indicating that he started counting the regnal years from 1251 A.D.

There is a record of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I at Tirumala[108] which refers to an opponent of the Pāṇḍya as Gaṇḍagōpāla who is also described as Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla. The same is described as *Andhrēśvara*[109] in another inscription from the same place suggesting that this Gaṇḍagōpāla was a Telugu-Chōḍa. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I claims to have killed a certain Vīra Gaṇḍagōpāla in his records of the 7th regnal year (= 1257-58 A.D.).[110] This date well coincides with the highest regnal year 7 (= 1257-58 A.D.) for Alluntikka. There are no records mentioning Vīra Gaṇḍagōpāla in the area during this period. Hence, Gaṇḍagōpāla, the Telugu-Chōḍa who figures as an opponent of Sundara Pāṇḍya may possibly be identical with Alluntikka.

The Tamiḻ *praśasti* of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya describes this event in the following passage :

'vīkkiy-avaṉ kaḻar-Kaṇḍa-Gōpālanai viṇṇulagiṟ-pōkki.'[111]

It may be noted that this passage has been translated verbally by the Sanskrit panygerist of the Pāṇḍya court as

'Vīra Gaṇḍagōp[*ā*]*lam-apy-antyāchāram-amarttya* [*rāja*]*-sulabhaṁ-svārājyam-ārōpayat.'*[112]

(and also as)

'Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla-vipina-dāva-dahana'[113]:

The word *Vīra* conveys the idea of heroism symbolically described in Tamil as *kaḻal i.e., vīra-ghaṇṭhā*. Thus, it is clear that the enemy of the Pāṇḍya was a Gaṇḍagōpāla and *Vīra* is not an integral part of his name.[114]

Hence we may surmise that Alluntikka-Gaṇḍagōpāla who had assumed independence around 1250-51 A.D. could rule in that capacity for only a short period of 7 years, when he was killed in battle by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

One other Telugu-Chōḍa chief who ruled in the same period was Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla. On the strength of inscriptions from Kāñchīpuram, Takkōlam etc., giving details of date, the date of his accession has been computed to be Śaka 1172 *i.e.*, 1250-51 A.D.[115] It is to be noted that Alluntikka also commenced to rule from 1250-51 A.D. The records of both these chiefs assignable to the period before 1257-58 A.D. occur at Tirupati[116] and Kāḷahasti[117] in Chittoor district and in Kāñchīpuram,[118] Takkōlam,[119] Rāmagiri,[120] etc., outside Chittoor district. This poses a problem of finding out how these two chiefs came to rule simultaneously in the same area.[121] The answer seems to be supplied by an inscription in Telugu language and characters from Dēvarāvēmūru[122] in the Raipur taluk of Nellore district. It is dated in Śaka 1169 corresponding to 1247-48 A.D. This inscription discloses the name of Vijayādityadēva-chōḍamahārāja, a younger brother (*tammumḍu*) of Alutirukāḷadēva-chōḍamahārāja. It records the gift of land for offerings to the deity (name lost) for the merit of Vijayādityarāja, younger brother of Alutirukāḷadēva-chōḍamahārāja by Chivapani-seṭṭi. This Alutirukāḷadēva-chōḍamahārāja is the same as Alluntikka. Hence we come to know that Alluntikka had a younger brother named Vijayāditya. It is obvious that *Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla* was the title of this younger brother and not his name as such.

It is possible that Alluntikka allowed his younger brother also to rule simultaneously. It is in this context that the Niḍigallu inscription of Śaka 1167 (= 1245 A.D.) of Vīraśōḷa Tribhuvanadēva (Rājēndra III), already referred to above gains some significance[123]. It refers to the performance of *rōgaśānti* for the recovery of Alluntikka's health. His son Tikka-mārāya is stated to have made a gift of the village Neḍuṅgaṟ-śevvaṉkuḻi to the god Yōgi-Malladēva for the recovery of his father. This suggests that Alluntikka was not keeping good health. Although he survived to assert his independence from 1250-51 A.D., he could rule only for 7 years thereafter. It is likely that in view of his own ill-health he associated his younger brother Vijayāditya *alias* Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla in the administration of the territories ruled by him. Hence, Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla's records are found occurring in the same period and in the same area. After 1257-58 A.D. Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla continued to rule the area upto the 42nd year[124] (= 1291-92 A.D.) of his reign independently.

One of the important feudatory families that served under Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla was that of Tyāgasamudrappaṭṭai. The earliest member of his family known from the records of Chittoor district is Vīmaraśaṉ, who figures as a donor in an inscription from Kāḷahasti dated in the 32nd year (= 1209-10 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III.[125] This Vīmaraśaṉ is described as the son of Poṉṉiaraśaṉ (I) in an inscription from the same place dated in the 17th year (= 1232-33 A.D.) of Rājarāja III.[126] This Vīmaraśa had two sons Poṉṉi[yaraśaṉ] (II) and [Nalla]śiddharaśa by name. Poṉṉiyaraśan (II) is mentioned as a donor in an inscription from the same place dated in the 21st year (= 1236-37 A.D.) of Rājarāja III.[127] Nallaśiddharaśa[128] apppears as a donor in an inscription from the same place dated in the 7th year (= 1256-57 A.D.) of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla.[129]

An inscription from Toṇḍaimānāḍ, Kalahasti taluk dated in Śaka 1187 (= 1265-66 A.D.) records the construction of a sluice to a tank by Tikkayyadēva-mahārāja who is described as *Ayōdhyāpuravarādhīśvara*, *Viśvanāthadēva-divya-śrīpādapadmārādhaka*, *Kāśyapagōtra-sambhava* and *Tāruṇīdēvīlabdha-varaprasāda*.[130] Though the mention of Kāśyapa-gōtra would make him appear to be a member of the Telugu-Chōḍa family, the other epithets indicate that he might not have belonged to the family of which, the Pottappichchōḷas such as Manumaśiddhi, Tikka etc., were members.

We know from the inscriptions outside Chittoor district that Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla was succeeded by his son Vīragaṇḍagōpāla,[131] for whom no records are available in this region.

The next chief who figure in the records of this area is Rājagaṇḍagōpāla. Transactions made in the 7th (= 1297-98 A.D.) and 8th (= 1298-99 A.D.) years by this chief at Kāḷahasti are referred to in an inscription from Kāḷahasti dated Śaka 1242 (= 1320-21 A.D.).[132] We have another record of this chief from Gājulapellūru,[133] Kalahasti taluk dated in his 18th year (= 1308, July 26). This record describes him as Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājagaṇḍagōpāla Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha *alias* Nallaśiddharaśa. It is probable that this chief bore the title *Rājagaṇḍagōpāla*, Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha being his proper name just as

Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Alluntikka had the title *Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla* as seen above. We know from the Kāḷahasti record that the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Nallaśiddharaśa, bore the cognomen *Madhurāntaka Pottappichchōḷa*.[134] It is obvious that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha also described as Nallaśiddharaśa in the Gājulapellūru record was a Telugu-Chōḍa chief.

THE UTTAMACHŌḶA-GAṄGAS

Chiefs of this family are found to have ruled from Kolar region in Karnataka State.[135] It is possible that this family had its origin in a viceroyalty set up in that area by Chōḷa Rājēndra II, who claims in his *praśasti*[136] to have set up similar viceroyalties in the extended areas of Chōḷa hegemony. The Chōḷa prince who might have commenced to rule in the Kolar area probably assumed the title of the Gaṅga dynasty and also the dynastic name of *Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅga*.[137] It is found that they had extended their rule as far upto Puṅganūr in Chittoor district as borne out by the inscriptions copied from Laḍḍigam,[138] Agastyakoṇḍa hill,[139] Nekkuṇḍi near Miṭṭapalle,[140] Guṭṭapalle,[141] Koḷattūru[142] and Mañchinīḷḷapalle[143] (a hamlet of Kottakōṭa). Except the Mañchinīḷḷapalle record which is in Telugu script, the records from all other places are in Tamil language and script.

An inscription from Agastyakoṇḍa hill dated in the 14th regnal year of Vīrarājēndra[144] refers to the installation of an image of Tirunāvukkaraśudēva by Śeyya Nambirāṭṭiyār, a queen of Śelva-Gaṅga. The name Vīrarājēndra is a well known title of Kulōttuṅga III. The date of the record will therefore be 1191-92 A.D. Another inscription from the same place dated Śaka 1[2]51 belongs to the reign of Śelva-Gaṅga, son of Uttamachōḷa Gaṅga Padumidēva.[145] It records the gift of an ornament by Śīpatināyaṉ, son of Śelva-Gaṅga. On the basis of these two inscriptions it may be surmised that there were three generations of this family *viz.*, Padumidēva, Śelva-Gaṅga and Śīpatināyaṉ. But the date Śaka 1[2]51 seems to be a mistake for Śaka 1151 (=1229-30 A.D.). For, with no other evidence to propose the existence of two chiefs bearing the same name Śelva-Gaṅga, the date 1[2]51 given in the record will stretch the period of Śelva-Gaṅga from 1191-92 A.D., to 1329-30 A.D., rather a long period of about 138 years for one span of life. This consideration will yield the following short genealogy and chronology :

Padumidēvan (*c.* 1191-92 A.D.)
|
Śelva-Gaṅga (*c.* 1191-92—1229-30 A.D.)
|
Śīpatināyaṉ (1229-30 A.D.)

The chief Śelva Gaṅga had Chendamiḻdēvaṉ *alias* Śelvagaṅgamārāyan as his general. We have a hero-stone record[146] raised by him in memory of a hero who lost his life in the course of a cattle-raid at Mōdanapalli, evidently the same as Madanapalli. This inscription is dated in the 7th year of an unspeificed reign. In view of the chronology already worked out, this record may be assigned to the reign of Rājarāja III. The date of the record will therefore be 1222-23 A.D.

Another chief Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅga Veṭṭum Amarābharaṇaṉ is referred to in an inscription from Laḍḍigam dated in the 9th year of Rājarāja III (1224-25 A.D.).[147] This inscription records the gift of money for the merit of Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅga Veṭṭum Amarābharaṇaṉ by Akaḷaṅkaṉ Śīyagaṅgaṉ *alias* Śittaviḍadēva (Siddhavaṭa°). Another undated inscription of Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅgaṉ *alias* Vīra-Gaṅgaṉ Veṭṭum Amarābharaṇaṉ from Agastyakoṇḍa, Punganur taluk records the gift of land in Naṅgili.[148] It is probable that the chiefs mentioned in both the inscriptions are identical. The word *Vīra-Gaṅga* occurring in the latter inscription is perhaps a title of this chief. The relationship of this chief with the other members of this family is not known.

An inscription from Laḍḍigam is stated to refer to the rule of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅga *alias* Śeṉbagachchīpati-nāyaṉār and it cites the 14th year.[149] This chief has to be distinguished from Śīpatināyaṉ,[150] on account of the former's[151] epithet *Śeṉbaga*. The date from which he counted his regnal years and his relationship with the other chiefs of this family are not known. It is likely that this chief became independent enough to reckon his own regnal year during the period when the Chōḷa power under Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.) was very weak.

An inscription from Koḷattūru, Punganur taluk records a gift made by a chief described as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Uttamachōḷa-Gaṅga. The chief's personal name is not disclosed. In the absence of this information we have to rely only on the details of date given in the record. It is dated in the 4th regnal year of this chief equated to Hēviḷaṁbi, Kumbha, śu. trayōdaśi, Monday, Tiruvōṇam.[152] The combination as given is irregular. If *śu* is corrected into *ba* the details of date will correspond to 1298 A.D., February 10, Monday. If this date is accepted, the chief will be considered to have commenced his rule from 1294-95 A.D. The independent rule of this chief was evidently possible during this period, as no suzerain power was yet to step into the western parts of the Chittoor district, where this family had continued to rule.[153]

THE ADIYAMĀN CHIEFS

The chiefs of this family ruled from the ancient Tagaḍūr, modern Dharmapuri, as the subordinates of the Chōḷas. But depending upon the fluctuating fortunes of their overlord, they often tried to assume independence and expand. The only chief who is known to have extended his influence as far upto Puṅganūr area in Chittoor district is Viḍugādaḷagiyaperumāḷ called *Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala* in Sanskrit. This chief, who bore the title *Rājarāja Adiyamāṉ*[154] figures as a donor in an inscription from Kambayanallūr, Salem district in a record of the 22nd year (1199-1200 A.D.) of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulōttuṅga who can be no other than Kulōttuṅga III[155]. He appears to have been a powerful chief with a large tract of country extending from Dharmapuri on the west, Pōlūr in North Arcot district in the east and in the north upto Laḍḍigam in Punganur taluk in Chittoor district. It is apparent that he was acting as a frontier guard of the Chōḷa dominions on its north-western frontiers. The few records that are available attest to his military power and his dynastic pride. Three inscriptions[156] in Laḍḍigam record his name and also bear the figure of the bow. His inscription from Laḍḍigam describes him as Kēraḷa Adhikēndra. 'Kēraḷa' is but a Sanskritised form of the 'Chēras' who had bow as their emblem. The inscriptions from Tirumalai[157] also refer to this fact. The engraving of the bow on the walls of the Nīlakaṇṭēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam was evidently an act of military prowess, signifying his control of the area around Laḍḍigam, following the fashion of three great Tamil kings, who are stated to have engraved their emblems of the bow, the fish and the tiger on the Himālayas. It is obvious that this area around Laḍḍigam in Punganur taluk was under the effective control of Viḍugādaḷagiyaperumāḷ.

Another inscription of this chief from the same place[158] states that his enemies were the Māgada, Kāḍava and the Gaṅga. 'Māgada' is the name of the chiefs of the Magadaimaṇḍalam, who were also known as Vāṇakōvaraiyar. The Kāḍava is the well-known dynastic name of the later Pallavas who rose against the Chōḷas under Kōpperuñjiṅga during the reign of Rājarāja III. While these two were the feudatories inside Tamilnāḍu who were inimical to the Chōḷas, the Gaṅga was perhaps the general of the Hoysaḷa whom the Adigamāṉ chief had to face along the frontiers.

The title *Rājarāja Adigamāṉ* of this chief indicates that he started initially to serve under the Chōḷa Rājarāja II (1146-66 A.D.) and later continued to serve his successors down to Kulōttuṅga III.

The inscriptions of this chief at Laḍḍigam do not record any grants made by him to the temple of Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara even though they are inscribed on its walls. They are only eulogistic. We know his catholicity in patronising also the Jaina religion as evidenced by his inscriptions at Tirumalai.[159] Kaṭṭimān probably, a *pradhāni* under Adigairājar figures in an inscription at Guḍimallam dated in the 10th year (1225-26 A.D.) of Rājarāja (III).[160] Adigairāja whose identity is not disclosed in the inscription may be identified with Viḍugādaḷagiyaperumāḷ in view of the dates already assigned to him above.

ŚĪYA-GAṄGAS

The most important member of this family hailing from Kuvalālapura[161] who is known to have been active in this area is Śūranāyaka. The earliest date for him is available in an inscription from Kāḷahasti which is dated in the 19th year of Rājarāja.[162] Since his sons and daughter are mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, it is obvious that Chōḷa Rājarāja in whose inscription of the 19th year Śūranāyaka figures as a donor, can be identified only with the second king of that name. Thus the 19th year of Rājarāja II[163] *i.e.*, 1164-65 A.D. will be the earliest known date for Śūranāyaka. He is also mentioned in an inscription from Kāṇippākkam, Chittoor taluk, dated in the 12th year and Śaka 1102 (mistake for 1112) of Kulōttuṅga III (1189-90 A.D.).[164] His son Aruṅkuṉṟapiḷḷai is described as the elder brother of his daughter Vaḍavāyilśelvi[165] *alias* Chandrakulamādēvi.[166] The latter was perhaps a queen of a Yādavarāya chief whose identity is not known. But the members of her husband's family bore several epithets of which *Śaśikulachaḷukki* is one. Śūranāyaka's another son Śūṟanāyakkaṉ Tiruvēgambamuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Amarābharaṇaṉ Śīyagaṅgaṉ figures as a donor in an inscription from Kāḷahasti in the 34th year (1211-12 A.D.) of Tribhuvanavīradēva (Kulōttuṅga III).[167] This chief is known to have been the patron of Pavaṇandi Aḍigaḷ, a Jaina saint and author of the famous Tamil grammatical work *Nannūl*.[168]

Ilāṟaiyaṉ Śagararāśaṉ Śīyagaṅgaṉ is obviously another chief of this family. He figures as a donor, in an inscription of the 8th year and Śaka 1108 (= 1185-86 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III.[169] His relationship with the other members of this family is not known.

A third chief of this family Akaḷaṅkan Śīyagaṅgaṉ *alias* Śittaviḍadēva (Siddhavaṭadēva) is mentioned as the donor in an inscription dated in the 9th year (1223-24 A.D.) of Rājarāja III.[170] He seems to have been in the service of a chief Uttamachōḷagaṅga *alias* Vīra Gaṅga Veṭṭum Amarābharaṇaṉ. He makes therein a grant for the merit of the latter.

Śiṟaimīṭṭa-perumāḷ *alias* Śīyagaṅgar was an important chief of this family.[171]. Both the words *Śiṟaimīṭṭa-perumāḷ* and Śīyagaṅgaṉ respectively stand for an epithet and the dynastic name respectively. It is very likely that the epithet *Śiṟaimīṭṭa-perumāḷ* was assumed by or conferred on this chief in recognition of his services in connection with the rescue of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III when he was imprisoned by the contemporary Pallava chief Kōpperuñjiṅga. If this is accepted this chief should be considered to be a loyal subordinate of Rājarāja III and chronologically he should be placed after Akaḷaṅkan Śīyagaṅgaṉ *alias* Siddhavaṭadēva. The provenance of the inscription *i.e.*, Kāṇippākkam in Chittoor taluk and the fact he exempted some land from taxes indicate that he was in charge of the local administration.

SĀMANTA BHŌJA

A solitary record from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk, engraved on a stone in front of Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple registers the creation of an endowment for offerings to Kāḷahastīśvara by *Sāmanta* Bhōja.[172] He is described as the son of Dōchi and also as a minister of Gaṇapati. It bears no date. A *Śāmanta* Bhōja, described as a minister of the Kākatīya king is known to us from an inscription from Kāñchīpuram[173] which is dated Śaka 1171 (1249-50 A.D.). Both are obviously identical. Though these two inscriptions record only benefactions made by this high dignitary, they are of more than ordinary significance from the point of view of political history. The date 1249-50 A.D. of the Kāñchīpuram record affords us a clue. It is exactly after this date that we find Alluntikka and Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla reckoning their own regnal years and issuing independent records in the erstwhile Chōḷa dominions under their control (see the section on *Telugu Chōḍas*). It is very likely that Tirukkāḷattidēva whom we have identified with Alluntikka and who was loyal to the Chōḷas became independent due to the support given by this Kākatīya general who might have been deputed by the Kākatīya to extend his influence towards the south. The affiliation of this Alluntikka with Kākatīya would have naturally attracted the attention of the mighty Pāṇḍya Jaṭāvarman Sundara I, resulting in the former's death. It may be recalled here that we have identified Alluntikka with Gaṇḍagōpāla referred to in the inscriptions of the same Pāṇḍya king.

PALLAVA CHIEF

Another important feudatory of the Chōḷa Rājarāja III is referred to in an inscription from Kāḷahasti.[174] The inscription dated in the 28th year (1243-44 A.D.) of his reign records the grant of the entire lands in the village of Iḷaiyūr in Tiru[vāna]yūr-nāḍu of Paiyyūr-Iḷaṅgōṭṭam by Kāmarasaṉ described as *Pallava-vaṁśāvatāra Vīranārāyaṇa Jagadobbagaṇḍa*. The epithets indicate that he was a Pallava chief though his connections with the other chiefs of that dynasty are not known.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 553 and 556.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 553.
3. *Ibid.*, 1922, Nos. 95 and 90; *Ibid.*, 1958, No. 64; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 511.
4. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 155.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 295.
7. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 136.
8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 295.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No 155.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 295.
13. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 155.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 83.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 488.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 509.
17. *N.D.I.*, Vol. III, Venk. 6, pp. 1402-03.
18. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 83.
19. *contra :* The inscriptions of Rājarāja referring to this chief have been assigned to Rājarāja III, which is however, incorrect. *Ibid.*, 1910, part II, para 30, p. 71; *J.I.H.*, Vol. XVII, part I, p. 50. As it is shown here they are of Rājarāja II's period and there was only one Ghaṭṭidēva among Yādavarāyas.
20. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 509.
21. *N.D.I.*, part III, Venk. 6, pp. 1402-03.
22. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 149.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 100.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 136.
25. *N.D.I.*, part III, Venk. 11, pp. 1407-09.
26. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 122.
27. *Ibid.*, No. 105.
28. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 104-05.
29. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 696.
30. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 136.
31. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 514.
32. *A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38, part II, para 42, p. 93; *J.I.H.*, Vol. XVII, part I, pp. 44-50 (1938); *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-04 and p. 107.
33. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, Nos. 105 and 126; *Ibid.*, No. 136; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 294.
34. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, Nos. 105 and 126.
35. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 294.
36. *Ibid.*, No. 696.
37. *Ibid.*, No. 304.
38. The reign of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva might have begun earlier than this date even *i.e.*, as early as 1174-75 A.D. Therefore the Nārasiṅgaṉ, the father of Tirukkāḷatti can be identified with Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva mentioned in the records dated 1174-75 and 1180-81 A.D. This record dated 1180-81 A.D. has been assigned to Vīrarājēndra *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga III. (See the text in *Ibid.*, No. 294). The gap in the passage containing the chief's name in the above record, has more letters than what would be needed to read Nāraṇadēva as assumed by Prof. Sastri in his *Cōḷas*, Vol. II, part I, p. 78, footnote No. 86. Palaeography also would support the assignment of the record to Kulōttuṅga III.
39. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 87.
40. *Ibid.*, No. 105 and 126.
41. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 696.
42. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 96; *Ibid.*, 1945-46, No. 83.
43. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 648 and 648-A; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 482 and 499.
44. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 304.
45. *Ibid.*, No. 297.
46. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 156.
47. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 494.
48. *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, Nos. 627 and 621.
49. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 494.
50. The text reads [7th] year (1222-23 A.D.) in *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 299, line 1.
51. The text introduces an Uḍaiyār between Parasamaiya Kōḷariyāṇḍār and Pāṇḍiyataraiyar. Another inscription dated in the 14th year (1229-30 A.D.) of this king refers to Pāṇḍiyataraiyar as a son of Parasamaiya Kōḷariyāṇḍār who in turn is described as the head of a *maṭha* attached

to Pippalādīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyān̤ār temple at Tiruchchukan̤ūr, *i.e.*, Yōgimallavaram (*Ibid.*, No. 304).

52. *Ibid.*, No., 299.

53. *Proc. of I.H.C.*, (1950), pp. 93-95.

54. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 125, 127 and 130.

55. *Ibid.*, No. 125. This record of six verses is in Tamil in the *Kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai* metre in praise of the chief Pallavāṇḍār *alias* [Vīravīraṇ] Kāḍavarāyar. The last verse describes him with the titles: °-*vaṇḍar̤ puṇar̤ Peṇṇai-nāḍ-uḍaiyān̤-Vaḍa Vĕṅgaḍa-ver̤pa*[*n̤*]-*Toṇḍait-tirunāḍu- tōḷvaliyār̤ -Toṇḍai man̤n̤an̤ Kaṇḍar̤, Kaḍar-kachchip-Pallavan̤ Kāḍa*[*va*]*n̤*.. ……

56. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. X.

57. *Contra : A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 136. The King's name in this record has been read as Rājarāja and identified with Rājarāja III. The details of date have been calculated to correspond to 1228 A.D., April 24. The *tithi* was ba. 3 and ba. 2, nakshatra Mūla was current, till .93 of the day. But an examination of the impression revealed the king's name to be *Rājādhirāja* and not Rājarāja. The cement joint on the top of this inscription has affected the upper half of every letter of this name. The lower half clearly reveals '*ja*' and '*ta*' in the middle of his name which cannot occur, if the name were *Rājarāja.* The chief's title is now more intelligible.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*, No. 87.

60. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 644.

61. *J.I.H.*, Vol. XVII, part I, p. 43.

62. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 692.

63. *Ibid.* In this record, this chief has been identified with Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya. See also *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 81/170 T.T.

64. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 456; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōḷas,* (2nd edition) pp. 368, 452; *A.R.Ep.*, 1936, part II para 44, p. 76.

65. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, p. 104.

66. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 518.

67. *Ibid.*, No. 520.

68. *Ibid.*,

69. *N.D.I.*, part I, A. 7, pp. 206-10.

70. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 43/165 T.T.

71. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 645.

72. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 514.

73. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 300; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 87/176 T.T.

74. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 43/165 T.T.

75. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 379.

76. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 44/164 T.T.

77. *Ibid.*, No., 43/165 T.T.

78. *Ibid.*, No. 44/164 T.T.

79. In the text of the inscriptions from Tirumala the expression *tirvmugattukkuppaḍi* should be correctly translated as *copy* (to, *i.e.*,) of the order, obviously of this chief and not of the Pāṇḍya as translated therein (See *Ibid.*, No. 43/165 T.T., and *Ibid.*, No. 44/164 T.T.).

80. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No. 58. An inscription dated in the 19th year (= 1269-70 A.D.) of Sundara Pāṇḍya I from Kāṇippākkam in Chittoor taluk may be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. This record does not at all refer to Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II. We have seen that even from 1264-65 A.D., this chief appears to have assumed independence, since from that year he starts counting his own regnal years. Hence the existence of this stray record of Sundara Pāṇḍya need not be taken into consideration. It is possible that the Pāṇḍya knowing fully well the independence assumed by Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya did not mention him at all in this record.

81. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 84/381 T.T.

82. *Ibid.*, No. 85/113 G.T.

83. *Ibid.*, No. 86/111 G.T.

84. A record of this Yādavarāya chief cites the 50th regnal year and the cyclic year Vikrama which was evidently a mistake for 15. (See *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 104-05).

85. *Ibid.*, No. 102/195 T.T.

86. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, No. 253; *Ibid.*, 1910, part, II para 52, pp. 101-02. Dated in the cyclic year Prabhava [=Śaka 1250*] corresponding to 1328 A.D. There is a Hoysaḷa record from Puṅganūr in this district dated in the 38th regnal year (=1291-92 A.D.) of Vīra Rāmanāthadēva. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 210. (See J.D.M. Derrett : *The Hoysaḷaṣ*, p. 141).

87. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 99/189 T.T.

88. It is apparent that there is some discrepency between the statements made in these two records. We know that one Rēcheya-daṇṇāyaka served Hoysaḷa Nārasiṁha III in 1279 A.D. (See *Myṣ. Arch. Rep.*, 1912, p. 45). Hence the identity of these two is not certain.

89. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 103/115 G.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 104/354 T.T.

90. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 242; *Ibid.*, 1934, part II, para 43, p. 42

91. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 104/354 T.T

92. *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, part II, para 52, pp. 101-02; *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kp. 40; *Ibid.*, Hs. 82; *Ibid.*, Ch. 116 and 193; *Ibid.*, Gu. 45 and 58; *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, part II, para 51, p. 67.

93. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 111/434 T.T.

94. *Ibid.*, No. 112/676 T.T.

95. *Ibid.*, 110/181 T.T. This will point to the 24th regnal year which is the highest year for this chief. This is corroborated by the cyclic year Khara equated with 16th year obtained in record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 242.

96. *Ibid.*, No. 116/56 T.T. Sanskrit verse inscription in *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre and *Ibid.*, No. 117/56 A.T.T.—Tamiḻ verse inscription in *Veṇbā* metre.

97. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 97.

98. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, No. 67.

99. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 104.

100. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 494.

101. *Ibid.*, IV, No. 859.

102. *A.R.Ep.*, 1953-54, No. 83.

103. *Ibid.*, 1919, Nos. 627 and 621 of Rājarāja III dated respectively in the 19th year (1234-35 A.D.) and 21st year (1936 A.D., August 13) refers to Tirukkāḷattidēva *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla, son of Madhurāntaka-Pottappichchōḷa Manumaśiddharaśaṉ.

104. His record in his own regnal years are available in Āttūr, Rāmagiri and Kāñchīpuram—all in Chingleput district Āttūr record—dated 3rd year (*Ibid.*, 1921, No. 300); Rāmagiri record—dated 4th year, Makara 25, ba. 8, Sunday, Vaiśākha =1255 A.D., January 3, Sunday, f.d.n. ·59 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 706); Kāñchīpuram records—dated 5th year, Tulā, śu. di. prathamā, Monday, Viśākha=1255 A.D., October 4; *tithi* was dvitīya, ·31; ·59 (*A.R.Ep.*, 1919, No. 608); dated 7th year, Makara, śu. 10, Monday, Anusha (Irregular) (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 859).

105. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 42/430 T.T.

106. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 500.

107. *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, No. 500.

108. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, 46/239 T.T.—A Sanskrit verse inscription in *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre.

109. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 48/241 T.T. lines 4-5; "°*Sundara Pāṇḍya dēvaḥ nivēśayāmāsa nirasta-śa*[*tru*]*r=Aṁdhrēśvaraṁ*.........etc."

110. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 769.

111. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 149, foot note (Reprinted 1972).

112. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 46/239 T.T.

113. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No, 769; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 45/175 T.T.—These two records are dated respectively in the 7th (1257-58 A.D.) and 14+1 years (1265-66 A.D.) of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍa I.

114. *Contra* : Pratibha has identified Gaṇḍagōpāla, who was killed by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, with Pallava Vīra Gaṇḍagōpāla. The reading of the regnal year of this chief in the Gūḍūr inscription as the 9th year led her to this mistaken identification. But

the reading is really *four*. (See *J.I.H.*, Vol. XLVIII, part II, pp. 287-93). Out of the dated records of (Vīra) Gaṇḍagōpāla all of them except one from Kāñchīpuram *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, No. 603, contain details of date which are irregular. (See *Ibid.*, 1915-16, Appendix-G., by L.D. Swamikannupillai, p. 108). The one exception cited above cannot be relied upon for this confused chronolgy. The date of Kāñchīpuram record (*Ibid.*, 1919, No. 603) *viz.*, 3rd year Kumbha, ba. di. tṛitīya, Saturday, Hasta, has been calculated by Swamikannupillai to correspond to 1294 A.D., February 13; ba 3 commenced at ·79 and the *nakshatra* Hasta at ·48. (*Ibid.*, 1919, Appendix-F, p. 93). But the above details of date also correspond to 1254 A.D., February 7. The text of *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 10/226 T.T. does not bear out the statement made by Pratibha in her article that Kōpperuñjiṅga defeated Vijaya and Vīra. In fact it does not seem to refer to either of them. This verse inscription in Sanskrit in lines 2-3 states that Vīrakhaḍgamalla defeated Vijaya (?) and erected the banner of victory carrying the Khaḍga (See the text in *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 10/226 T.T., p. 18).

115. *A.R.Ep.*, 1920, part II, para 57, p. 118.

116. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No, 91/127 G.T.

117. Alluntirukkāḷatti *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla, *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 500 and Vijayagaṇḍgōpāla; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 470—(4th year=1254-55 A.D.); *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 501—(7th year=1257-58 A.D.).

118. Alluntikka : *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, Nos. 441, 608, 386, 562; *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 859; Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla : *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, No. 565, 538, 571; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 860.

119. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, No. 264.

120. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 706 (4th year=1255 A.D.).

121. This problem of the simultaneous rule of these two chiefs in the same area has been almost ignored by both Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri (*T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 79-89 and M. Venkataramayya—His unpublished Thesis on *Telugu-Chōḍas* submitted to Madras University). The latter has just made mention of this but had not continued to explain how this phenomenon could happen. An attempt has been made here resulting in the conclusion that both were Telugu-Chōḍas and were brothers.

122. Śaka 1169, Plavaṅga, Māgha, śu. 8, Thursday; *N.D.I.*, part III, R. 20, pp. 1231-32.

123. *A.R.Ep.*, 1953-54, No. 83.

124. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 194 ff.

125. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 92.

126. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 465.

127. *Ibid.*, No. 463.

123. The identification of this Nallaśiddharaśa with his Pallava namesake mentioned in a record from Kāñchīpuram dated in the 16th year (1265-66 A.D.) of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla is untenable (*T.T.D. Ep.*, *Report*, p. 83).

129. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 501.

130. *Ibid.*, 532.

131. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, part II, para 51, p. 151; *Ibid.*, 1945-46, No. 58.

132. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 498.

133. *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. 71.

134. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 97; *Ibid.*, 1936-37, No. 67.

135. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Introduction, p. xiii-xiv.

136. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, No. 29, pp. 60 and 62.

137. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 561. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Introduction p. 111 (1974).

138. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 549 and 551.

139. *Ibid.*, Nos. 559, 561, 566 and 562.

140. *Ibid.*, No. 567.

141. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 311.

142. *Ibid.*, 1933-34, No. 179.

143. *Ibid.*, 1946-47, No. 31.

144. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 559.

145. *Ibid.*, No. 561.

146. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 311.

147. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 551.

148. *Ibid.*, No. 562.

149. *Ibid.*, No. 549.

150. *Ibid.*, No. 561.

151. *Ibid.*, No. 549.

152. *Ibid.*, 1933-34, No. 179; part II, para 44, p. 42.

153. For other members of this family from inscriptions of Kolar district, See *Minor Dynasties of Kōlār* by C. Krishnamurthy : *Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, pp. 72-76 p. 82—Genealogical table, (1971, Madras).

154. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 332.

155. *Ibid.*

156. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 544, 545 and 547.

157. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

158. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 552.

159. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

160. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 517.

161. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 643; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 155.

162. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 563.

163. *Contra* : K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II, part II, p. 746.

164. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No. 60.

165. This word means the '*illustrious lady of the northern gate*' obviously standing for the goddess Durgā *i.e.*, the Tamil *Koṛṛavai.*

166. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 155.

167. *Ibid.*, No. 116.

168. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955)., p. 401.

169. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No. 57.

170. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 551.

171. *Ibid.*, 1907, No. 59.

172. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 649.

173. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 197.

174. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 647.

6

Chittoor Under Vijayanagara

AN ANALYSIS of the records of Vijayanagara rulers in the district reveals the fact that the take over of this area which was under the influence of the Hoysaḷas through their generals was rather smooth and was only a matter of course. This would vindicate that the Vijayanagara rulers were the unquestioned political successors of the Hoysaḷa, even in this region (*vide : section on Yādavarāyas*).

The earliest among the Vijayanagara rulers to be represented by the inscriptions in this district is (Kumāra) Kaṁpaṇa II. His inscriptions range in dates from Śaka 1274,[1] Vijaya (=1352 A.D.) to Kīlaka[2] (=1368 A.D.).

Chittoor district was administered by him as a viceroy under his paternal uncle Harihara I and his own father Bukka I. His Nallūrupalle inscription credits him with the title *Tulukkadaḷavibānaṇaṇ*, which must have been received by him soon after his destruction of the forces of *Tulukka* (Muhammadan). We know from several other records in the south that this king curbed the expansion of the Muhammadan (*Tulukkaṇ*) rule in the south by destroying them and thus established orderly government throughout the country and restored worship in the Hindu temples[3]. He was assisted in the administration and the military campaigns by Sōmappa-deṇṇāyaka or Sōmappa-uḍaiyār and the latter's son Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Māraya-nāyakkar.[4] Sōmappa-uḍaiyār was a very accomplished musician. He is described as *sangīta sāhityāṛna[va]gāṇaparamamāyēśvaraṇ*, in a record from Nallūrupalle, Punganur taluk. He was a *mahāpradhāna* (*aramaṇai mahāpradhāni*) of *Kumāra* Kaṁpaṇa.[5] This Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Māraya-nāyakkar may be identified with his namesake who defeated the Śambuvarāya chief Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya *i.e.*, Rājagaṁbhīra Rājanārāyaṇa, by Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛit (=1363-64 A.D.) the date of the Maḍam inscription of Kaṁpaṇa.[6]

An inscription in Telugu and Tamil versions from Tirumala dated Śaka 1281[7] (=1359 A.D.) states the Maṅgidēva-mahārāja had the central shrine of the Kōyil-Āḷvār guilded and the golden pinnacle placed on its top. This Maṅgidēva, variously called Maṅgu, Maṅgi, etc., was another famous general of Kaṁpaṇa II. He seems to have participated actively in the prince's campaigns against Śambuvarāya and the Sultanate of Madurai. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* explicitly states that Śāḷuva Maṅgu first subjugated Śambuvarāya and then restored him to his kingdom. Another work called *Rāmābhyudayam* also refers to his overthrow of Champarāya (Śambuvarāya) and thereafter of the march against the Sultān of the north, who had his headquarters at Madurai.[8] This general belonged to the Sāḷuva family as stated in the Daḷavānūr record.[9] Though no records bearing dates after 1368 A.D. are available for Kampaṇa in Chittoor district, we may consider this district to have been under his control till his death in November, 1374 A.D.

Harihara II, son of Bukka I ascended the throne at Vijayanagara in 1377 A.D.[10] An inscription from Yādamari,[11] Chittoor taluk dated in Śaka 1301 (=1379-80 A.D.) refers to the rule of Virū[paṇṇa-uḍaiyār], evidently a son of this king. It is therefore apparent that Harihara appointed his son Virūpaṇṇa II a viceroy in this area soon after Kaṁpaṇa's death. This inscription stops with the date and therefore no more information is forthcoming regarding the transaction intended to be recorded. Virūpaṇṇa seems to have been succeeded by his son called Hariyaṇṇa. The records citing his rule range in date from Śaka 1302-03 (=1380-81 A.D.)[12] to Śaka 1325 (for Śaka 1323=1401-02 A.D.)[13]. The inscription from Mēḍikurti, Vayalpad taluk describes him as Hariyaṇṇa, son of Vīra Kumāra Virūpaṇṇa.[14]

In the midst of these documents dated in the reigns of the Viceroys, there are also records citing the reign of Harihara II. It is obvious that he was ruling from Vijayanagara as a supreme emperor. Two records bearing the cyclic year Īśvara *i.e.*, 1397 A.D. and Śaka 1323 (=1401-02 A.D.) from Mudivēḍu,[15] Madanapalle taluk and Kāḷahasti,[16] Kalahasti taluk respectively refer to his reign. The former record refers to *mahāpradhāna* Irugapa-[da*]ṁḍanāyaka described as the protector of the kingdom (*rājyapratipālaka*) (line 4). The records further informs us that Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa was in his charge. The provenance of the two records from Madanapalle taluk indicates that the north-western region of Chittoor district formed part of the division called Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍi. The latest known date *i.e.*, Śaka 1323 (=1401 A.D.) for Harihara, son of Virūpaṇṇa, is available in an inscription from Śivapuram,[17] Madanapalle taluk. This inscription states that Harihararāya was ruling from Rāyava[ra*]m, which is probably identical with a village of the same name in Rayachoti taluk in Cuddapah district. Harihara, son of Virūpaṇṇa[18] (Virūparāya) ruled an area including Chittoor district from about 1380-81 A.D. to 1401-02 A.D.

While Harihara, the son of Virūpāksha (Virūpaṇṇa) was ruling over parts of Chittoor district comprising Madanapalle and Vayalpad taluks from his capital Rāyavaram in Rayachoti taluk, Cuddapah district, Bukka II, son of Harihara II, was ruling as governor of Muḷuvāy rājya. Muḷuvāy rājya was a territorial division with its head quarters in Mulbāgal in Kolar district. This division extended to include also Puli-nāḍu (Huli-naḍu) covering the area roughly approximate to the present Punganur taluk in Chittoor district. Bukka II is known to have ruled from 1380 to 1409 A.D. We get inscriptions for him in Chittoor district from 1392 to 1406 A.D. The record dated Śaka 1314 (=1392 A.D.)[19] refers to an officer of his palace (*avara-maneya*) named Balanāyaka. Another inscription from Peddavelagaṭūru,[20] Punganur taluk dated Śaka 1327 (in words) (=1404 A.D.) refers to Lakhaya-nāyaka, son of Mupeya-nāyaka and the *bāgila-pradhāni* of Boṁmaṁṇaoḍeya, son of Boka (Bukka) rāya-oḍeya. Bokarāya-oḍeya is described as the *mahāpradhāna* of Harihara II along with the usual titles *mūrurāyara-gaṁḍa* (*mūrurāyara-gaṇḍa*) and *bāsege-tapuvarāyaragaṁḍa*. The next inscription referring to Bukkarāya is dated Śaka 1328 (=1405 A.D.).[21] This Kannaḍa record from Mūgavāḍi introduces Bukkarāya as the king ruling in his own right. His father Harihara II is known to have died in August 1404 A.D.[22]

The date of the present record which is 9 months after Harihara's death indicates that Bukka II[23] had become the ruler at Vijayanagara and this record must be considered to be one issued by him as the emperor and not as a governor. The record registers the assignment of the excise dues on the imports and exports at Ānevēri belonging to Dēvarāya by [Jo]ṁmamaṇa-oḍeya. While Dēvarāya is probably identical with his namesake, brother of Bukka II, the identity of Joṁmaṁṇa-oḍeya, who is probably the local governor is not disclosed. The record further informs us that Joṁmaṁṇa-oḍeya visited Vijayanagara, the purpose of which is not clear as the inscription is damaged. We know that more than a year after his date,[24] *i.e.*, in 1406 A.D., November 5, Bukka's brother Dēvarāya I, who was a governor at Penugoṇḍa became the king at Vijayanagar. We do not hear of this Joṁmaṁṇa-oḍeya afterwards.

In so far as the eastern parts of Chittoor districts are concerned we get only one solitary record from Kāḷahasti[25] throwing some light on the position here. It is dated Śaka 1304, Dundubhi, 13, Paurṇami, Tiruvādirai and Saturday. The month could be obviously Mārgaḷi or Mārgaśīrsha. The record states that Mallappa-uḍaiyār, son (*kumāra)* of Vīramarasappa-uḍaiyār assigned half of the income from land tax, tax on gold and several types of *kāṇikkai* (contributory dues) including *Tukkaṇar-kāṇikkai* collected from the village Koṭṭikkāḍu and Mēlaipaṭṭaiya-nāḍu to provide for *mahāpūja* on the day of *Tiruvādirai* in his name to the god Śiva at Kāḷahasti. The high dignitary is endowed in the inscription with some of the usual titles like *harirāya bhāshaikku-tappuvarāyaragaṇḍa* and also some new titles such as *jīvaraksha*, *saṅgēmāsamattār*, °*śala-dhaḷa-vibhāḷa* etc. Though these epithets do not help us to identify him, there is no doubt that he might have had some connections with the royal family of Vijayanagara. If the same *Tukkaṇar-kāṇikkai* could be a corrupt form of a mistake for *Tuḷukkaṇar-kāṇikkai*, this levy would assume some political significance. For, we know that the Vijayanagara rulers were always vigilant about the Muslim invasion and this levy could have been devised in order to maintain a standing army.

Dēvarāya I is represented in 4 inscriptions in Chittoor district as governor. The earliest[26] of these four records describes him with full regal titles *Śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēśvara, harirāya-vibhāḍa, bāśaka-tappuvarāyaragaṁḍa, pūrva-paśchima-dakshiṇ-ōttara-chatu* (*ḥ**]*samudrādhipati*, *rājādhirāja*, *rājaparamēśvara*, though on the date of this record Śaka 1327 (=1405 A.D.) he had not yet become the emperor duly consecrated. For, he had his coronation only in 1406 A.D. November 5, as pointed out above. The use of these titles suggest that Dēvarāya I was already the de-facto emperor. This record refers to a former transaction made in the times of, Kaṁpaṁn-oḍeya, Bukaṁn-oḍeya and Chikkoḍeya. If these three names are mentioned in the chronological order, as they appear to, they can only refer to Kaṁpaṇa II, Bukka II and Harihara (III),[27] son of Virūparāya—all the three as governors. Harihara (III) was probably called Chikkoḍeya *i.e.*, the junior-master with reference to Harihara II the king of his times, who was his grandfather. A similar reference to the same past transaction in the times of Kaṁpaṇa and Chikkoḍeya is made in another record from Tambaḷḷapalle,[28] Madanapalle taluk dated Śaka 1327 (=1405 A.D.). This inscription refers to Dēvarāya's rule from Penugoṇḍa-paṭṇa. He was evidently then the governor of Udayagiri-rājya. There are two more records[29] from Chittoor district referring to the reign of Dēvarāya I, both being dated in Śaka 1328 (=1406 A.D.).[30] The second record[31] refers to Antappa-daṇṇāyaka and Narasiṁhadēva Voḍeya, as *mahāpradhāna* and *sirōmaṇi* of Dēvarāya's kingdom. Their subordinate *Mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Kāmu-Dōrappa-nāyaka figures as one of the donors in the inscription.

Another high dignitary, a minister of Dēvarāya I was Mallaṇṇa (Mallaṇa) also called Śrī Mādhavadāsar at Chandragiri probably in charge of the area.[32] He arranged for some irrigation facilities at Avilāli in Chandragiri taluk in Śaka 1330 (=1409 A.D.) benefitting the lands at Tirumala and endowed a perpetual lamp. He arranged also for the construction of parts of *tirumahāmaṇi-maṇḍapam* in stone at Tirumala in Śaka 1339 (=1417 A.D.).[33]

An inscription from Tirupulippagavarkōyil in Chingleput district dated Śaka 1340, Hēmaḷaṁbi (= 1418 A.D.) records the remission of taxes collected excessively by the *tānattār* of the local temple after consulting the authorities at Chandragiri-śālā.[34] The reference to Chandragiri-śālā is interesting in as much as the presence of the minister Mallaṇṇagaḷ during this period coincides with the consultations made for revenue purpose by the *tānattār* (*sthānattār*). It is clear that Chandragiri was fast developing as a centre of power, though it is not clear whether it was included in Muḷavāyrājya which was being governed by Vijayarāya.

The next member of the royal family of Vijayanagara associated in the governance of the Chittoor district was Vijayarāya or Vijaya Bukkarāya or Vijayabhūpatirāya. There are 3 inscriptions referring to his reign. The earliest among them from Karshanapalle, Punganur taluk dated Śaka 1332[35] (= 1409 A.D.) records the grant of a portion of the revenues due to the treasury from the lands at Muttukūru in Vaḍapulināḍu, a sub-division of Nigarilisōḷa-maṇḍalam to the deity Aṅgakkārīśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyinār by Sāmaṭṭi (Saṁbēṭa) chief Vīra Ōbaḷadēva Chōḷamahārāja of the solar race for the merit of Vijayarāya, who is stated to be ruling the Muḷvāyil-rājya.[36]

A copper-plate charter in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa from Daṇḍapalle,[37] Palmaner taluk dated Śaka 1332, (= 1410 A.D.) records the grant of that village to Kriyāśakti, a Śaivite teacher who in turn gave it to Kṛishṇa-paṇḍita. This charter informs us that Vijayarāya was the son of Dēvarāya and Dēmāṁbikā, who was the daughter of Nūka-bhūpāla. The editor of Daṇḍapalle plates has identified this Nūka, a Reḍḍi chief with Nalla Nuṁka, mentioned in the Naḍupūru grant[38] of Śaka 1296 (= 1374-75 A.D.) of Anavēma as the husband of Vāmaśāni, the sister of Anavēma.

The Karshanapalle record[39] describes Avubaḷa(Ōbaḷa)dēva as Chōḷa-mahārāja. Another inscription from Kanuparti,[40] Ongole taluk dated Śaka 1348, (= 1427 A.D.) records the grant of land by this Avubaḷadēva Chōḍa-mahārāja, son of Ālamandala Nuṁkayadēva Chōḍa-mahārāja for the merit of Dēvarāya, his queen Dēmā-ammaṅgāru (Dēmāṁbikā) and his son *paṭṭam kumāra* Vijaya-Bukkarāya. Thus since the records mentioning Avubaḷa and Nuṁka consistently describe both of them as Chōḷa-mahārājas, the identification of this Nuṁka, with Nalla Nuṁka, the Reḍḍi chief is not acceptable. If this Nuṁka was the same as Nalla Nuṁka, we can at best infer that he married only a princess of the Reḍḍi family and he himself cannot be considered as a 'Reḍḍi' as he is stated to have belonged to the solar race.

A third inscription is from Peddavelagaṭūru, Punganuru taluk and is not dated.[41] It cites the reign of Vijaya-bhūpatirāya-oḍeya and records a grant made by him. The epithet *Vijaya* enables us to identify him with Vijaya-Bukkarāya, son of Dēvarāya I and to distinguish him from Vīra-bhūpati, son of Bukka II. The late date of Kanuparti inscription[42] *i.e.*, Śaka 1348 (= 1427 A.D.) seems to point to the possibility of the fact that the grant was made for the merit of all the three who were probably not alive on that date or alternatively we will have to take it that a grant made on an earlier occasion was recorded on a later date. It may be noted that Dēvarāya II had come to reign before this date.

The description of Vijaya-Bukkarāya as *paṭṭam kumāra* even as late as 1427 A.D. seems to suggest that he never ruled as an emperor *de-jure*, though he was associated in the administration first with his father Dēvarāya I and later with his son Dēvarāya II.[43]

An inscription from Sattravāḍa,[44] Puttur taluk dated Śaka 134[9], Plavaṅga(= 1427 A.D.) cites the reign of Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya and purports to be an order issued by the king to Ariyappa-daṇṇāyaka, Bhikshāvṛitti-ayyagaḷ and Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār of Chandragiri. It relates to the Śaiva and Vaishṇava shrines stated to be in Chandragiri-rājya. Another inscription from Takkōlam,[45] Arkonam taluk, outside Chittoor district dated Śaka 1349 (= 1427 A.D.) contains a similar order issued to the same parties including Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār of Chandragiri. Yet another record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[46] dated in the cyclic year Plavaṅga *i.e.*, Śaka 1350 (= 1428 A.D.) registers a transaction referring to Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār as ruling over Chandragiri-rājya. This Dēvarāya-uḍaiya is also referred to and described as *mahāpradhāni* of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya ruling the earth in Śaka 1358 (= 1426 A.D.) in the inscription from Muḍipalli, Puttur taluk.[47] Here again the distinction between Dēvarāya II, the ruling emperor and Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār, the local dignitary is quite clear. The consistent description of Dēvarāya-uḍaiya in these records in association with Chandragiri-rājya which is mentioned here for the first time points clearly to the fact that Dēvarāya-uḍaiya w a rsuling from Chandragiri as a governor of this area.

The visit of Dēvarāya II to the famous Tirumala temple is recorded in a Kannaḍa inscription in Telugu characters from Tirumala dated in Śaka 1351 (= 1429 A.D.).[48] The visit resulted, as the inscription says, in the assignment of a handsome revenue of two thousand and two hundred *honnu*, apparently due to the royal treasury, derived from three villages attached to the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāravāḍa*). In the next year *i.e.*, Śaka 1352 (= 1430 A.D.) expressed by the chronogram *dṛik-sara-rāma-chandra*, we find Śrīgiri-antyēśvara[49] described as the son of *viśśaṇa* Dēvarāya, presenting the god at Tirumala with a *paṭṭam* newly made of gold and gems. This is the only reference to the prince available in Chittoor district. He was no doubt a son of Dēvarāya, the ruling emperor at Vijayanagara, described in the record as *Viśśaṇa* Dēvarāya. The expression *Viśśaṇa* seems to be a corrupted form of *Vijayaṇa*. This word may stand for the patronymics of Dēvarāya II who is known to be a son of Vijayarāya. The analogy of Harihara-Hariyaṇa, Bukka-Bukkaṇa, Virūpāksha-Virūpaṇa support the contention made here that Vijayaṇa stands for Vijaya.

Śrīgiri, the son of Dēvarāya is stated to be ruling from his capital Maratakapuri which has been identified with Viriñchipuram in North Arcot district.[50] The Madras

Museum plates[51] which refer to this fact mentions this Śrīgiri, as the younger son of Vijayarāya. The record from Tirumala discussed above refers to this Śrīgiri, as the son of Dēvarāya. These two conflicting positions have to be reconciled. Since the donor of the Tirupati inscription is clearly described as the son of Dēvarāya, he could be identified only with Mallikārjuna. If so, the expression *Śrīgiri—antyēśvaraḥ* should be taken in its entirety as referring to Mallikārjuna, the only known son of Dēvarāya II. The expression indeed means 'the lord of the region called Śrīgiri *i.e.*, Śriśaila' where the presiding deity is Mallikārjuna. Thus this inscription may be considered to contain a reference to Mallikārjuna and not to Śrīgiri, the brother of Dēvarāya II as stated by the Madras Museum plates.

The discussion presented above points to the conclusion that the Tirumala inscription happens to be the only reference to Mallikārjuna as a prince.

The local administration at Chandragiri seems to have been conducted by Dēvaṇa-uḍaiyar described as uḍaiyar (*uḍaiyar* Dēvaṇa-uḍaiyar) in Śaka 1355 (= 1433 A.D.)[52] and also by Mallāṇḍaiyar,[53] son of Dēvarasar in Śaka 1366 (= 1444 A.D.)[54] Possibly both these persons were holding the rank of a minister assisting the emperor or his local governor.

The last but not the least important record assignable to the period of Dēvarāya II in this region is from Tirumala.[55] This epigraph dated in Śaka 1364 (= 1443 A.D.) registers a munificent grant of 3000 *honnu* to the deity Tirumaladēvar by Teppada Nāgeya Nāyakar, son of Muddeya Nāyaru who was apparently a general of Dēvarāya II. We do not, however, get more information about the activities of this general.

The period after the reign of Dēvarāya II is not represented by the inscriptions of Vijayanagara dynasty with a solitary exception. This is quite in contrast to the occurrence of numerous inscriptions of Vijayanagara dynasty during and before the reign of Dēvarāya II. The solitary record mentioned above is dated Śaka 1371 (= 1450 A.D.) in the reign of Mallikārjunadēvamahārāya[56] who is described with full regal titles. It records a private transaction relating to sale of land by Śrīvaishṇavas of Triupati to Lāsamālikam Chennappa-uḍaiyāṟ, one of the *niyōgis* residing at Chandragiri. In view of the facts that this is the only record of Mallikārjuna available so far from Chittoor area and that a number of inscriptions of this area falling in this period refer to many Sāḷuva chiefs (details to be dealt with in the section below), it seems to be clear that Mallikārjuna's suzerainty was only nominal and the rising Sāḷuvas were the effective rulers of this area. It must be pointed out, however, that a large number of inscriptions of Tamilnāḍu, falling within this period cite the reign of Mallikārjuna consistently, but at the same time recording the donations made by the Sāḷuva chiefs.

Sāḷuvas :

By far the largest number of inscriptions from this area and of this period refer to the members of the Sāḷuva dynasty. The earliest among the Sāḷuva chiefs referred to in their records was Selva Tippadēvamahārāja, son of Sāḷuva Tippayadēva, who according to the known genealogy of Sāḷuva chiefs, was one of the four sons of Gauta II. He is referred to in an inscription from Sattravāḍa,[57] Puttur taluk dated in the year Dundubhi *i.e.*, Śaka 1364 (= 1442 A.D.), which records a charter granted to the Śēṇiyaṇs by *Daḷavāy* Śrīraṅga-Rāvuttar. From the literary sources of this period including *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* and *Jaiminī Bhāratamu* we know that Guṇḍa was the eldest son of Gauta,[58] and that he was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha, as the governor of Chandragiri-rājya.[59] The reference to Selva Tippa, son of Sāḷuva Tippa,[60] brother of Guṇḍa could be only in association with Guṇḍa, who was the real governor at Chandragiri.

Sāḷuva Eṟṟa-Kaṁpayadēva was another chief mentioned as the father of Mallaya-dēva-mahārāja in two records from Tirumalai, Chandragiri taluk, dated Śaka 1368 (= 1446 A.D.)[61] and Śaka 1385 (1464 A.D.).[62] Since no information is forthcoming regarding his parentage or the area under his control, it is not possible to fix him in the known Sāḷuva genealogy. The same appears to be the case with Śirumallaiyadēva-mahārāja, son of Gaṅgayadēva-mahārāja, who is described as a Sāḷuva according to a record from Tirumalai, Chandragiri taluk, dated Śaka 1372 (= 1450 A.D.).[63]

It has been stated above that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, son of Guṇḍa, succeeded him as the governor of Chandragiri-rājya. The earliest record referring to him is dated Śaka 1378 (= 1456 A.D.).[64] This record from Tirumalai in Chandragiri taluk is the earliest ever reference to him. It is well known that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha started his career from Chandragiri. There is no significant event reported during the initial years of his career. The central government at Vijayanagara under Mallikārjuna was not very strong and Narasiṁha was loyal enough not to take advantage of this situation.[65] It was during this period that the Oriya army led by Kapilēśvara-Kumāra Mahāpātra son of Ambīradēva (Haṁvīra) conducted a fleeting raid right across the coastal country from the capital Kaṭaka (Cuttack) as far south upto Śrīraṅgam. This campaign was not one of any permanent conquest but it gave a rude shock to the Vijayanagara empire as its entire eastern flank was attacked. Two inscriptions from Muṉṉūr, Tindivanam taluk of South Arcot district dated Śaka 1386 (= 1464 A.D.) describe Kapilēśvara-Kumāra-Mahāpātra, the son of Hamvīradēva as the *parīksha* of Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapaḷḷi, Addaṅki, Vinukoṇḍa, Daṇḍapāḍa, Paḍaivīḍu, Vaḻudilampaṭṭu-uśāvadi, Tiruvārūr, Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi and Chandragiri.[66]

This gave an opportunity for Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to rise to the occasion to retrieve the lost territories and restore the prestige of the empire.[67] He conducted campaigns in the north to recover the territories from the Gajapatis, including the fort of Udayagiri.[68] Numerous inscriptions in the South record the arrangements made by him to restore normal conditions from the disturbed state of affairs on account of Oriya expedition.[69] An inscription from Tirukkōyilūr[70] dated Śaka 1393 (=1470 A.D.) of the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṁhadēva refers to the devastation of the *maṇḍapa*, the *prākāra* (*tirumadil*) and the *gōpura* in the temple of Tiruviḍaikaḷināyaṉār at Tirukkōyilūr since eight years due to Oḍḍas (*Oḍḍiyṉ-kalabhaiāyttu eṭṭukālamāga*) and to the renovation carried out by Aṉṉam-arasaṅgaḷ, the agent of Narasiṁha, for the merit of the king and to the restoration of lands to the temple. Two other inscriptions, one from Arakaṇḍanallūr[71] and the other from Neṟkuṇam[72] both in the Tirukkoyilur taluk dated Śaka 1393 (=1471 A.D.) (?) states that the temples had become dilapidated without any worship for about 8 years owing to *Oḍḍiyaṉ-kalabhai* and records the gift of certain taxes for repairs and for the renewal of worship in these temples by *avasaram* Aṉṉamarasa for the merit of the king. In this process Narasiṁha gained prestige and power which placed him in an invulnerable position in the royal court at Vijayanagara.

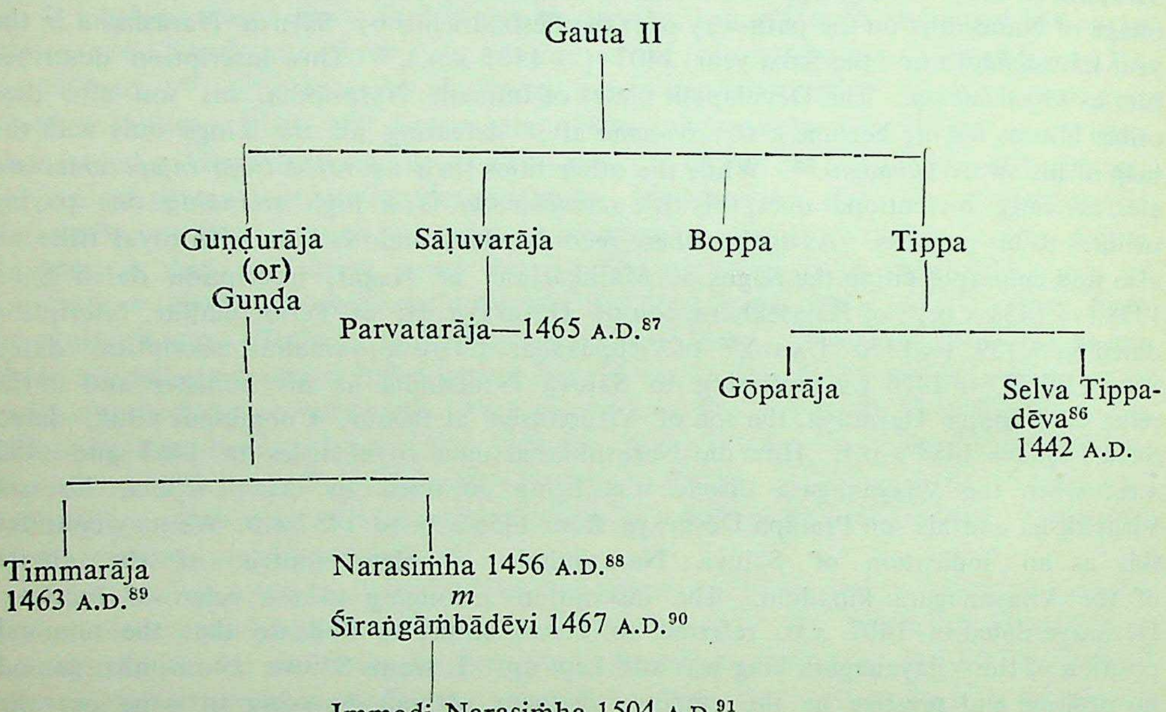
A number of inscriptions from Tirumala record donations made by him or by others for his merit without giving any clue whatsoever regarding his political activities. These inscriptions range in date from Śaka 1378 (= 1456 A.D.) to Śaka 1393 (= 1471 A.D.).[73] A few chiefs of the Sāḷuva dynasty including Narasiṁha's own kinsmen figure in a number of records from Tirumala. The chiefs are Parvatarāja, son of Sāḷuva, one of Gunḍa's brothers,[74] Timmarāja, Narasiṁha's own brother and Timma, son of Mallayadēva.[75]

A record from Basrūr,[76] Coondapur taluk, South Kanara district in Karnataka dated Śaka 1404(= 1482 A.D.) describes Sāḷuva Narasiṁha as śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-rājaparamēśvara-śrī Vīra Pratāpa-śrī Vīra Bhujabala Narasiṅgarāya-mahārāya and as ruling from Vijayanagara. Another inscription from Kommunūtula, in Pulivendla taluk, in Cuddapah district in Andhra Pradesh dated Śaka 1[405] (current) (= 1483 A.D.) describes Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's success in suppressing the rebellion of Ghanḍikōṭa chiefs. An inscription on the east wall in the Periāḻvār's temple at Alipiri, foot of the hill of Tirupati, in Sanskrit language and Grantha characters, records the installation of the image of Narasiṁha on the path-way over the Sēshādri hill by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha in the year *sthānabhāgya i.e.*, the Śaka year 1407 (= 1485 A.D.).[78] This inscription describes him as *sārvabhauma*. The Dēvulapalli plates of Immaḍi Narasiṁha, his son also describes him as having become a *sārvabhauma* after defeating all the kings only with the help of his sword (*khaḍga*).[79] While the other titles such as *rājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara* etc., are only conventional ones, this title *sārvabhauma* is a high sounding one paying tributes to his prowess. As against these records which endows him with royal titles we also find epigraphs citing the reigns of Mallikārjuna at Nagar, inscription dated Śaka 1378 (= 1456 A.D.)[80] of Rājaśēkhara, son of Dēvarāya II; at Pēranamallūr, inscription dated Śaka 1392 (=1470-71 A.D.),[81] of Virūpāksha; at Tiruveṇṇainallūr, inscription[82] dated Śaka 13[9*]3 (= 1470 A.D.) referring to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha as his minister and in the reign of Pratāpa Dēvarāya, the son of Virūpāksha at Basrūr, Coondapur taluk, dated Śaka 1409 (= 1487 A.D.). How did Narasiṁha assume royal titles in 1482 and 1483 A.D., when the Vijayanagara throne was being occupied by Mallikārjuna, his son Virūpāksha and his son Pratāpa Dēvarāya from 1456 A.D. to 1487 A.D. We may consider this as an indication of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's complete control of the affairs of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The inscription belonging to the reign of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya dated in 1487 A.D. referred to above seems to indicate that the nominal position of the Vijayanagara king was still kept up. It seems Sāḷuva Narasiṁha gained his position and prestige as the emperor *de-facto* without hurrying to wipe out the central government as represented by Pratāparāya. The Basrūr and Kommunūtula records dated respectively in 1482 and 1483 A.D. show that Narasiṁha was recognised by the people as the real power behind the Vijayanagara empire. It is possible that he ascended the Vijayanagara throne only sometime in or after 1487 A.D. although he started wielding power as early as 1482 A.D., the date of the Basrūr record, if not earlier than that date.

It should be noted that the Dēvulapalli plates of Immaḍi Narasiṁha[83] dated in the year *girinētra yugēndu i.e.*, Śaka 1427, (= 1504 A.D.) does not describe his father Sāḷuva Narasiṁha as ruling from Vijayanagara. These plates attribute to him the following titles *dharaṇīvarāha*, *dhārāvarāha*, *pañchaghaṇṭānināda*, *mūrurāyaragaṇḍa*, *uruvarāditya*, *chauhattamalla*, *Chāḷukyanārāyaṇa* and *Mōhanamurāri*.[84] The titles *dharaṇīvarāha* and *dhārāvarāha* imply the idea of Narasiṁha's efforts in saving the empire from the wicked forces even as the boar-Vishṇu incarnate restored the earth. All the other titles refer only to his military capabilities. The analogy based on the first two titles would present him more as a *saviour*[85] than as an *usurper*. But in the process of restoring the empire to its original glory, the empire itself became his sole charge making him in turn the emperor.

Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was assited in the administration of his country by several chiefs of a collateral branch of the Sāḷuva dynasty. A number of them figure as donors in many inscriptions in Tirupati and outside Tirupati. The tabular statement (See pp. 125-29) brings out, the predominence of the Sāḷuva chiefs, undoubtedly as a result of the patronage given by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.

Some of the Sāḷuva chiefs could be easily identified as his close relatives such as brother, cousin brothers and their sons. The chart below will illustrate this point.


Gauta II
Gunḍurāja (or) Gunḍa
Sāḷuvarāja
Boppa
Tippa
Parvatarāja—1465 A.D.[87]
Gōparāja
Selva Tippa-dēva[86] 1442 A.D.
Timmarāja 1463 A.D.[89]
Narasiṁha 1456 A.D.[88]
m
Śīraṅgāṁbādēvi 1467 A.D.[90]
Immaḍi Narasiṁha 1504 A.D.[91]

Apart from the Sāḷuva chiefs there are a few other dignitaries described in glowing terms. One of the important chiefs was a Nṛisiṁhadēva, son of Pinnana.[92] This chief is described in glowing terms as *Pāṇḍyabhūpālaśuṇḍāla khaṇḍanōddaṇḍakēśari* and *Prājya-Kākatirājya pratishṭhāpana-dēśikaḥ*. The two epithets given above apparently imply the role that this chief might have played in the northern campaigns against Gajapati and the southern campaigns against the Pāṇḍyas. The expression 'Kākatirājya' evidently refers to the territory that was once under the Kākatīyas. For, we know that the Kākatīyas were not there. Therefore this epithet refers only to the Sāḷuva's campaigns against the Gajapatis. The chief is described as *Rājasāmantasiṁha* and as śrī *Nṛisiṁhanaranāyakaḥ*.[94] It is tempting to identify this chief with Narasā-nāyaka, the famous general and successor of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. But the difference in the parentage (*i.e.*, this

Nṛisiṁha being the son of Pinnanna and Narasānāyaka being the son of Īśvara Nāyaka) precludes the possibility of this identification. This Nṛisiṁha had a brother called Kēsaya Nāyaka.[95]

The next Sāḷuva king was Immaḍi Narasiṁha for whom three records are available in Chittoor district. The earliest among these dated Śaka 1417 (= 1495 A.D.)[96] records the grant of several villages for creating an endowment for feeding pilgrims and to provide for the preparation of certain images as well as to arrange for the worship.

The Dēvulapalli plates of Immaḍi-Narasiṁha record the grant to a brāhmaṇa of the village of Dēvulapalli in Mārjavāḍa-sīma in Penugoṇḍa Mārjavāḍa. Dēvulapalli is identical with a modern village of that name in Vayalpad taluk in Chittoor district. Here the king is described as the son of Sāḷuva Narasiṅga by his queen Śrīraṅgamāṁba. He is said to have ascended his father's throne. It is dated in Śaka 1427 (= 1504 A.D.)[97]

The next record registers the creation of an endowment of 3825 *naṟpaṇam* for the merit of this king by Tiruvēṅgaḍachchiṟukkaṉ-tiruppaṇippiḷḷai-emberumāṉāṟ. This inscription is dated Śaka 1426 (= 1504 A.D.).[98] The three inscriptions referred to above give the date 1495 A.D. as the earliest and 1504 A.D. as the latest for Immaḍi Narasiṁha. These records do not make any explicit statement that Immaḍi Narasiṁha ruled from Vijayanagara. But we know from other records[99] that he ruled from Vijayanagara in his own right. The inscription from Muttukūru, Pulivendla taluk of Cuddapah district says that Immaḍi-Narasiṁha, son of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was ruling from Vijayanagara and it refers to Narasānāyaka, as the true servant (*nijabhṛityulu*) of the king.[100] There is however no record from Chittoor district containing a contemporary reference to Narasānāyaka, who as we know was a trusted lieutenant of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, the king's father. But an inscription of his son Kṛishṇadēvarāya[101] gives the genealogy from Timma and Dēvaki as follows : their son Īśvara and his wife Bukkamma, their son Narasa and his queens Tippāji and Nāgalādēvi. Tippāji's son was Vīra-Narasiṁha and Nāgalādēvi's son was Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Since Narasānāyaka was associated in the rule of the empire with Immaḍi-Narasiṁha,[102] it may be surmised that Narasānāyaka was the *de-facto* ruler conducting the affairs of state in the name of the ruling king Immaḍi-Narasiṁha, the *de-jure* ruler.

An inscription from Tirumala[103] dated Śaka 1426 (= 1504 A.D.) belongs to Immaḍi Narasiṁha's times though it does not cite his reign. It refers to a mahānāyaṅkāchārya Peri[ya*] Ōbaḷanāyakkar Rāmānāyakkar.[104]

There is only one contemporary record containing a direct reference to Vīra Narasiṁha in the midst of a few records that fall within his reign period. This inscription is dated Śaka 1430 (= 1508 A.D.).[105] It records the undertaking given by the *sthānattār* of Tirumalai temple in respect of 7800 *paṇam*(*naṟpaṇam*) donated by Appāpiḷḷai, son of Kaṟavaṭṭi Puḷiāḻvār of Uttiramērūr to provide for a festival for the merit of Vīra Narasiṅgarāya-mahārāyar. A few more records from the same place refer to the endowment created by this Appāpiḷḷai.[106] These records however do not refer to the reigning king Vīra Narasiṁha, though they fall within the period of his reign.

An inscription engraved on the east wall of *pāḍikāval gōpuram* in the third *prākāra* of Tirumalai temple dated in the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya contains in its preamble four verses describing Vīra Nārasiṁha.[107] The second verse (*i.e.* No. 16 in the text) refers to several valuable gifts made at many holy places including Kāḷahasti and Tirupati. The fourth verse (*i.e.*, No. 18 in the text) records that he performed the sixteen *mahādānas*-

Brahmāṇḍa, *Viśvachakra*, *Ghaṭa*, *Mahābhūta*, *Ratnadhēnu*, *Saptāmbhōdhi*, *Kalpakshitiruhalati-*(*kalpavṛiksha*), *Kāñchana-Kāmadhēnu*, *Svarṇa-bhūmi*, *Hiraṇyāśva-ratha*, *Tulāpurusha*, *Gōsahasra*, *Hēmaśiva*, *Hēma-garbha*, *Kanaka-kari-ratha* and *Pañchalāṅgalī*. The fact that he made *tulārōhaṇa* gift, one of these sixteen *mahā-dānas*, is also referred to in another inscription engraved nearby on the door-jamb of the *pāḍikāval gōpura.*[108] The latest record for Vīra Narasiṁha from Chittoor district is from Chellūr near Guḍimallam,[109] Kalahasti taluk. It is dated Śaka 1431 (= 1509 A.D.) and records an agreement among the residents of the three villages Maḍaviḷāgam, Śilaiyūr (Chellūr) and Kandāḍu regarding the right of irrigation from the channel called *Sadāśivakōna*. This date nearly coincides with the latest date known for him from records outside Chittoor district. One such record from Vikravāṇḍi[110] in the South Arcot district dated Śaka 1431 (= 1509 A.D.) narrows down the interval between Vīra-Narasiṁha's latest date and Kṛishṇarāya's earliest to just four days.[111]

The history of Chittoor under Kṛishṇadēvarāya is not marked by any significant political development. The entire attention of Kṛishṇadēvarāya was fixed on the north-eastern parts of his empire from Udayagiri to Orissa. There was no problem for him in so far as this district is concerned. But, as a devout Hindu he did not fail to visit Tirumala and Kāḷahasti on his way to or back from the expeditions in the North-east. He endowed the temples in these two places with lavish gifts of precious stones, gems, ornaments, etc., as attested to by several inscriptions. Some of these records contain the usual preamble tracing the progress of his campaigns chronologically, which has been found to corroborate the accounts obtained from the records outside Chittoor district. He visited Tirumala in the dates Śaka 1436 (= 1514 A.D.),[112] in Śaka 1438 (= 1517 A.D.)[113] with his queens and in Śaka 1442 (= 1521 A.D.)[114] and also Kāḷahasti in Śaka 1438 (=1517 A.D.)[115] with his queens. Besides the lavish gifts of gems, precious stones, jewels etc. referred to above he also made gifts of lands along with the income from taxes to provide for food offerings and various other services. There are other inscriptions referring to similar munificent gifts made by him.[116] In the absence of an explicit statement regarding his personal visit on every occasion, it is difficult to hold along with the author of *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*[117] that he visited Tirumala on all such occasions.

But the visits actually made by him are more significant as landmarks in charting his movements in connection with his military campaigns. It is found that before 6th July 1514 A.D., the date of his first visit to Tirumala he had defeated Pratāparudra-Gajapati and drove him away as far upto Koṇḍavīḍu, captured Udayagiri fort and visited Tirumala on his way back to his capital.[118] The statement[119] that Kṛishṇarāya visited Tirumala on 13th June, A.D. 1513 is not corroborated by the inscriptions cited above recording his first visit to Tirumala. We should therefore consider that the gifts made by the king on and before 13th June, A.D. 1513 as having been made through his agents only and not personally. The gifts recorded in these inscriptions should have been made more in the nature of anticipation of his success in these campaigns while the three records containing the Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil versions of his first campaign obviously record his gifts made in the nature of thanks-giving.[120] The explicit statement made in these three versions that he visited Tirumala *after* the first campaign substantiates our contention.

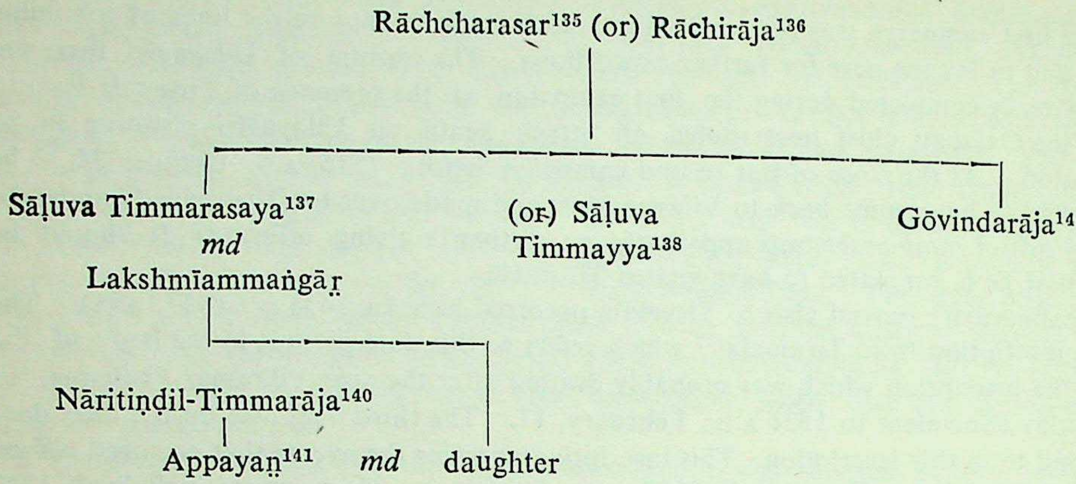
Since the later inscriptions[121] refer to the conquest of Udayagiri fort, it is apparent that the first campaign was only a fleeting march made to capture the lines of communication and to lay the base for further expeditions. The capture of Udayagiri fort was not obviously completed during the first campaign, as the presence of Tirumala-Ravutturāya, the Gajapati chief necessitated an attack again on Udayagiri resulting in its occupation. At the close of this second campaign before 1515 A.D. October 25,[122] he is reported to have come back to Vijayanagara and made over to Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ a costly gift of *ratna-prabhāvaḷi* apparently as a thanks-giving offering. It should be noted that he is *not* stated to have visited Tirumala.

Kṛishṇarāya's second visit to Tirumala occurred in Śaka 1438 (= 1517 A.D.). The Telugu inscription from Tirumala[123] which refers to this date gives it in the body of the text of the inscription which was probably drafted after the year Vikrama, Phālguṇa, śu 11, Sunday equivalent to 1521 A.D., February, 17. The third visit also on the later date is referred to in this inscription. This inscription narrates the events that occurred before the date of his visit to Tirumala in 1517 A.D., January 2. These events include all that happened from the capture of Koṇḍapalli to the planting of a pillar of victory at Siṁhādri-Poṭnūru and they have to be placed between 1515 A.D., October 25 and 1517 A.D., January 2. Two days after the visit to Tirumala *i.e.*, on Śaka 1428, Dhātu, Pushya, Śu. 13, Monday =1517 A.D., January 5, Monday, he is stated to have visited Kāḷahasti[124] and is said to have arranged for some new constructions including a big *gōpura* after worshipping the deity.

Inscriptions from Chittoor district do not throw much light on the campaigns undertaken by Kṛishṇarāya after the erection of the pillar of victory at Poṭnūru. On the other hand his movements after *1517* A.D., *January 5*, the date of his visit to Kaḷahasti, are well testified to by inscriptions in the southern districts. His visit to Kāñchīpuram, Nāgalāpuram *(Arigaṇḍapuram)* and some places on his way to Kuṁbhakōṇam to attend the *mahāmagha* festival is referred to in the inscriptions from Kāñchīpuram[125] and Nāgalāpuram.[126]

He is reported to have been camping at Kāñchīpuram[127] in Śaka1439, Īśvara, Mēsha, śu, Āyilyam which may correspond to *1st April 1517* A.D.[128] It is in this context that the evidence given by an inscription from Kommūru,[129] Bapatla taluk, Guntur district gains some significance. It says that Kṛishṇarāya ruled the area as far upto Kaṭaka (*Kaṭakaṁmēragānu*) which was no doubt Cuttack, the capital of the Gajapatis. This inscription is dated Śaka 1438 Dhātṛi, Phālguṇa, ba 5, Thursday (=1517 A.D., March 12). The campaign against Kaṭaka was not conducted certainly before the date of his visit to Tirumala in 1517 A.D., January 2.[130] The inscription from Tirumala, for that matter, all other inscriptions excluding the one from Kommūru do not refer to the Kaṭaka campaign at all. It is not known whether the Kaṭaka campaign was conducted personally by the king though such a possibility cannot be precluded. There is no indication of his movements between 1517 A.D. January 14[131], and March 12.[132] Turning to the evidence from literature, we are not left with any better information except to say that "certain discrepencies between the accounts of these campaigns as culled from lithic records and as collected from Telugu literature are noticed" in the Report.[133]

The most important among the officers of Kṛishṇadēvarāya was Sāḷuva Timmarasa designated as *pradhāni*.[134] From the four insciptions in Chittoor district referring to him, the following genealogy can be made out.


Rāchcharasar[135] (or) Rāchirāja[136]
Sāḷuva Timmarasaya[137]
md
Lakshmīammaṅgāṟ
(or) Sāḷuva Timmayya[138]
Gōvindarāja[142]
Nāritiṇḍil-Timmarāja[140]
Appayaṉ[141] md daughter

It should be noted that the epithet Sāḷuva is found to be used only in the case of Timmarasa. These chiefs are stated to have belonged to Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra, and Yajuś-śākhā.

Besides these, the following other officers are also mentioned in the records of Chittoor district.

1. *Rāyasam* Koṇḍamaraśayar,[143] son of Timmarasayyaṅgār.
2. *Rāyasam* Viṭṭamaraśayyar,[144] son of Timmarasa.
3. Ādepanāyaka *(Aḍapanāyaniṁgāru);*[145] Aḍaippam Bhaiyappa-nāyakkar,[146] son of Timmappanāyakkar.
4. *Mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Komāra Vōbuḷnāyini Tippināyaka[147] (holding the *nāyaṅkara* of Basavanikoṇḍa-sīma).
5. *Bāgila Avasarada* Narasayya.[148]
6. *Vāsal*-Ellappanāyakkar.[149]
7. *Uḷiyam* (*Uḍiyam*) Ellappa-nāyakkar.[150]
8. *Karaṇikka* Basavarasa,[151] son of Sōmarasar.
9. *Karaṇikka* Basavarasa.[152]
10. *Purōhitar* Yajña-Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭar.[153]

Though these officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of Kṛishṇadēvarāya mostly from Tirumala, it is not clear whether all of them were serving only in Chittoor area. It is possible that most of the senior officers were present at Tirumala as mere pilgrims. But it is very likely that the officers below the level of *avasaram* were representatives of the government in the local unit of Chandragiri-rājya, in which the findspots of most of these records were situated. All the information that is available of *pradhāni* Sāḷuva Timmarasaya[154] and his brother Gōvindarāja come from records outside Chittoor. None of these records has anything to say about their political activities which were much in evidence only in the campaigns in the north.

One of the most important aspects in the history of this period pertaining to Achyutarāya on which inscriptions of Chittoor district throw some light is his coronation. The only epigraphical reference to his coronation occurs at Kāḷahasti. This inscription in Telugu language and characters from Kāḷahasti[155] is dated Śaka 1454 (= 1532 A.D.) in the reign of Achyutarāya. It records the grant of a huge sum of 4500 *gadyas* for various specified offerings to the deity Kāḷahastīśvara. The inscription narrates the events of his reign in a sequence commencing from his coronation which is stated to have taken place in the presence of Kāḷahastīśvara on the 5th day in the dark fort-night in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Virōdhi.[156] (*Text: line 1—śrī VīrapratāPa-śrī Vīra Achyutarāyamahārāyalu-pṛithvīrājyaṁ-chēśē-Śakābda*[*ṁ**] *145*[*4*]*-mīṁdanaḍichchē-Naṁdana-saṁvatsara-*[*Śrāvaṇa ba* 10]*-Maṁdavāramuṁnnu-Rōhiṇinakshatramuṁnnu* [*Achyuta*]*rāya-mahārāyalu-Virōdhi-saṁvatsara-Kārttika ba 5-lu-śrī Kāḷahastiki-vichchēsi-śrī-Kāḷahastīśvaru-nisēviṁchi-śrī Kāḷahastīśvara*[*saṁnnidhini*]*-paṭṭābhishēkamu chēsikoni*). This date may correspond to November 20, 1529 A.D. The same event is also recorded in a Tamil inscription from Kāḷahasti.[157]

Another inscription in Telugu characters from Kāñchīpuram[158] dated in Śaka 1454 (= 1532 A.D.) describes similarly his military campaigns following his coronation in Virōdhi, Kārttika, ba. 5.

Two more inscriptions from Kāñchīpuram containing identical versions similarly describe Achyutarāya's campaigns that followed after his coronation in Virōdhi, Vṛischika, Aparapaksha[159] (*i.e.*, bahuḷa) 5th day and Virōdhi, Kārttikai 5[160] respectively. But they do not indicate the place of his coronation as in Kāḷahasti inscription. The name of the month Kārttika occurring in the Telugu[161] and Kannaḍa[162] versions is *not* that of the lunar month but only an adaptation of the name for the solar month Kārttikai occurring in the Tamil inscription from Kāñchīpuram.[163] Thus all these inscriptions point to 20th November 1529 A.D. as the only date for Achyutarāya's coronation. There is no room to consider that there were two dates[164] one for the coronation at Kāḷahasti and the next as the date for coronation at the Vidyānagara, as against the inscription in Telugu from Kāḷahasti[165] which definitely says that Achyutārāya's coronation took place at Kāḷahasti. The two Tamil inscriptions from Kāñchīpuram containing dates construed as different from that of Kāḷahasti do not refer to the place of coronation.[166] The surmise that it was celebrated at Vijayanagara is not warranted by the inscription itself.[167] Besides it has been surmised that Achyutarāya had three coronations, first at Tirupati,[168] the second at Kāḷahasti[169] and the third at Vijayanagara. While the epigraphic evidence discussed above points to only one coronation at Kāḷahasti, the theory of three coronations is sought to be confirmed by evidence from literature. We will presently examine the same.

The first coronation is surmised to have been held at Tirupati on the basis of a statement made in *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*[170] that he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa. The verse in Sanskrit runs as follows :

प्रणामशीलः फणिशैलशासितुः कदाचिदग्रे करशंखवारिणा ।
पयोधिकाञ्ची परिणेतृनास्पदे पदेऽभिषिक्तः स परम्परागते ॥

It is obvious that the word *agrē* in this verse has been taken to mean 'first' thus making this coronation as the earliest. But the expression *kadāchit* meaning 'sometime' has been ignored in the incomplete and imperfect translation given as follows :

"Coronation first celebrated at Tirupati where he bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa".[171] The poet who could not give the date of this coronation has managed to put it as 'at sometime'. Therefore, the word *agrē* will have to be interpreted as 'in front of'. If so, the coronation at Tirupati could have happened at any time. Some scholars have thought that all those royal gifts to the deity at Tirumala mentioned in the records[172] were made in the course of his visit. But it cannot be construed like that. Achyutarāya visited Triupati[173] in Śaka 1454, Nandana, Kuṁbha, ba 7, Aśvati, Friday (= 1533 A.D., January 31) and offered *archanai* to the deity (*Achchutarāyar-kaiyilē-aṛchchaṉai-archchikkavum*).[174] In the absence of reference to his visit to Tirupati on an earlier date, his coronation at Tirupati should be considered to have occurred on or after this date.

The second coronation is surmised to have been held at Kāḷahasti on the 21st October, 1529 A.D.[175] on the basis of the statements made in the inscriptions discussed above. We have already shown by our analysis that all these inscriptions point to only one date *viz.*, 20th November, 1529 A.D. The third coronation is surmised to have been held at Vijayanagara on 20th November, 1529.[176] In this surmise the date has been taken from the inscription[177] which does not mention the place and the place has been taken from literature which does not mention the date. As we have already shown this date is out of question. We have to examine now whether Achyutarāya had a coronation held at all at Vijayanagara. The source for this statement is a verse from *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*[178] running as follows :

प्रणीय विद्यानगरीं पतिं क्षिते
रहीन्द्रशैलाधि भुवास्य कल्पिताम्
उदारवृत्तेरुदयुञ्चतोन्सवं
विघिन्सवस्ते सचिवा विशेषतः

This verse *states* that the minister of Achyutarāya led him to Vijayanagara and arranged to have festivities *following the coronation celebrated at Tirupati.* There is no reference to the cornation itself celebrated again at Vijayanagara. Evidently, the ministers arranged for a grand reception (*utsavam*) of the king, just returning after his coronation at Tirupati and the capital was put on a festive mood in that connection. It is surprising that the poet Rājanātha, the author of *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* does not at all refer to the coronation held at Kāḷahasti and the inscriptions do not at all refer to the coronation held at Tirupati. We are inclined to treat the *epigraphic evidence* that he had his *coronation at Kāḷahasti on 20th November, 1529 A.D. as more authentic.*[179]

To sum up we may conclude that Achyutarāya had his first and only coronation at Kāḷahasti in the presence of the deity Kāḷahastīśvara on 20th November, 1529 A.D. Immediately thereafter he was engaged in the military campaigns in the south; returned to Tirupati to have the coronation sanctified in 1533 A.D., January 31[180], and returned to Vijayanagara to inaugurate the festivities in connection with his coronation.[181]

This account begins with Achyuta's coronation at Kāḷahasti on 20th November, 1529 A.D. The fact that any account of his career begins with this coronation only makes us suspect that there were some compelling circumstances that forced Achyuta to begin his career with a coronation at Kāḷahasti far away from the capital Vijayanagara. Neither epigraphy nor literature throws light on this. But a contemporary foreigner

Nuniz[182] informs us as follows :

"Before the death of Crisnarao from his desease ... being sick and already despairing of his life, he made a will, saying that of his three brothers whom he had sent to be confined in the fortress of Chamdegary, with his nephew, son of King Busbalrao, they should make king, his brother Achetarao. After his (Crisnarao's) death, Salvany became minister of the kingdom, and governed it till the arrival of king Achetarao from the fortress of Chamdegary, where he was detained."

We cannot expect this type of information to be given by Achyuta's inscriptions or by his biographer Rājanātha in the work called *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*. It has been explained clearly above that the biographer had conveniently omitted to mention Achyuta's coronation at Kāḷahasti. It is difficult for us, however, to judge the accuracy of his statement. The sequence of events as described by Nuniz is as follows : Kṛishṇadēvarāya died. Salvany became the minister and governor of the kingdom. Achyutarāya arrived from Chandragiri. The latest record which refers to Kṛishṇadēvarāya as still ruling over the empire is dated Śaka 1451, Virōdhi, Tula śu, paurṇami, Sunday, Aśvanī (or) Śaka 145[1], Virōdhi, Kārttika, śu 15, Sunday (= October 17, 1529 A.D.).[183]

The Kaḍalāḍi plates[184] of Achyutarāya dated Śaka 1451, Virōdhi, Pushya, Makara-saṅkramaṇa, Kṛishṇapaksha, trayōdaśi, *bhaumavāra* (Tuesday) (= 1529 A.D., December 28) mentions the fact that Kṛishṇarāya was dead before the date. The fact that Achyutarāya had his coronation held at Kāḷahasti on the 20th November, 1529 A.D. enables us to place the time of Kṛishṇarāya's death between October 17th[185] and November 20th.[186] But the statement of Nuniz that Achyutarāya was detained at Chandragiri requires some re-examination. It is clear that Achyutarāya was present at Kāḷahasti on 20th November. There is some evidence regarding his whereabouts before this date. The earliest reference to Achyutarāya occurs in an inscription from Kommarapūḍi, Nellore taluk, Nellore district. It is dated Śaka 1448 (= 1526 A.D.).[187] It states that Achyutarāya was seated on the diamond throne of Vijayanagar. Next in the sequence occurs a reference to Achyuta as protecting the kingdom (*rājya pratipālisuvakāla*) in an inscription from Manigarakeri near Bārakūr, South Kanara district, dated Sarvajit, Māgha, śu 4 (= 1527 A.D.).[188] In the next cyclic year Sarvadhāri,[189] Achyuta is reported to be "ruling over the earth" in the inscription from Hosapēṭa, Siddhlaghatta taluk, Kolar district. An inscription from Anakavalli, Sorab taluk, Shimoga district dated Śaka 1450 (= 1529 A.D.).[190] records a grant made to the local deity with a specific prayer that Achyutarāya might be firmly established in the empire. A consideration of all these four inscriptions points to the impossibility of Achyutarāya's detention at Chandragiri as stated by Nuniz.[191] The provenance of these records seem to indicate that Achyuta's position as the emperor-designate was an accepted fact in the outlying provinces of the empire. There may be some truth in Nuniz's statement that Kṛishṇarāya had intended to make Achyutarāya his successor. It is not unlikely that Achyutarāya was kept away from the capital due to the machinations of Aḷiya Rāmarāya at the court of Kṛishṇarāya, who, at the end of his career, was perhaps too weak to carry out his intentions. The last mentioned reference from Sorab taluk appears to indicate that there were some difficulties in Achyutarāya being accepted as the successor. It shows that there was some opposition evidently connected with Rāmarāya's attitude against Achyuta being crowned. It is possible that in the midst of this risky situation, Achyutarāya hastened to have his coronation at the place where he was at the time when he heard of

Kṛishṇarāya's death. He was evidently then at Chandragiri and he had his coronation at Kāḷahasti.

There are four inscriptions at Kāḷahasti containing versions of the same preamble in their text. Two of them are in Kannaḍa language written in Kannaḍa and Nāgarī scripts.[192] Two others are in Telugu language and script[193] and Tamil language and script[194] respectively. They are all dated, Śaka 1454 (= 1532 A.D.).[195] The preamble of these texts gives a short account of the events that happened in Achyutarāya's reign beginning from his coronation at Kāḷahasti on the date discussed above (20th November, 1529 A.D.) and ending with the subduing of Sāḷuva Nāyaka and Tuṁbichchi Nāyaka. The events are (1) the protection assured for Rāyaṇarāju of Nuggihaḷḷi, Mallirāja of Ummattūr, Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka, etc., who were reported to have sought refuge with him; (2) assuring similarly protection to other local governors; (3) despatch of troops and armaments to the Tiruvaḍi country; (4) receiving the tribute from the Tiruvaḍi; (5) married the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king; (6) the erection of a pillar of victory on the banks of Tāmraparṇī river and (7) subjugating Sāḷuva Nāyaka and Tuṁbichchi Nāyaka. All these events happened outside Chittoor district. These same four aversions are also available at Kāñchīpuram.[196] The most important part of this preamble which pertains to the Chittoor district is the statement regarding Achyuta's coronation at Kāḷahasti. This has been discussed above in detail. After the completion of these campaigns, the last of which was directed from Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, Achyuta is reported to have reached Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇam along the banks of the Kāvērī.[197] Achyuta is known to be present at Kāñchīpuram on July 14th in 1532 A.D.[198], evidently after setting right the affairs in the south. On 31st January 1533 A.D.,[199] he was at Tirupati, when he offered *archana* to the deity from his own hands. He also made lavish gifts to the deity. It is generally presumed that he continued to be camping at Chandragiri or near about for a period of about 6 months from July 14, 1532 A.D. to January 31, 1533 A.D. In the absence of a direct evidence for this it is very difficult to hold so, in view of the fact that the situation in the capital could not be described to be always helpful to Achyuta in view of the halting loyalty of Aḷiya Rāmarāya and the lurking danger from the Sultanates in the north. The shrines at Tirupati continue to receive liberal gifts though his presence is not attested to.[200] Achyutarāya's presence in the Chittoor district on the dates indicated above and his frequent lavish gifts to the deities of Tirupati and Kāḷahasti were emulated by his entourage including Sāḷuva Timma and Gōvinda, the ministers, Timmarāja-Salakarāja and his family, Rāmabhaṭṭa-ayyaṇ, also a minister, Achchutarāya Nāyakkar, the *durgādhipati* of Chandragiri, *Mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Kambham Timmānāyani Veṅkaṭādri Nāyanimgāru etc. It is obvious that some of the high dignitaries had taken part in the expedition in the south and they followed their monarch in having their donations registered at the two important religious centres of the district. The inscriptions by themselves do not afford any evidence regarding their political activities on these occasions.

The latest record for Achyutarāya in Chittoor district is dated Śaka 1463 (= 1542 A.D.)[201]

The earliest record for Sadāśiva from Tirumala is dated Śaka 1463 (= 1541 A.D.)[202]. It will be seen that Achyuta's latest date is about 6 months later to the earliest date of Sadāśiva. This anamoly is not without any significance. It is well known that during the last days of Achyuta the rivalry between Aḷiya Rāmarāya and Salaka Tirumalarāju became sharp and in the midst of this confusion, Aḷiya Rāmarāya managed to restrain Achyuta and proclaim Sadāśiva, Achyuta's brother's son as the emperor of Vijayanagara.[203] This situation is reflected in the two records cited above.

There is however one inscription from Kāḷahasti dated Śaka 1467 (= 1544 A.D.) quoting the reign of Achyutadēvarāya.[204] This is apparently a mistake, since Achyuta is not known to be living on that date. Further a number of records citing the reign of Sadāśiva falling in dates earlier to this have been found in the Chittoor district itself.

With the death of Achyuta, the influence of the Salakarāju Tirumala and the other members of his family over the state of affairs was nearly lost. Aḷiya Rāmarāya was able to establish his hegemony over the empire through the puppet emperor Sadāśivarāya, whom he raised to the throne.[205] Though this fact is known from the sources elsewhere, a few inscriptions of Chittoor district attest to the dominant position of Aḷiya-Rāmarāya who functioned as the *de-facto* ruler. An inscription from Tirumala[206] dated Śaka 1467 (= 1545 A.D.) in the reign of Sadāśivarāya records the renewal of the endowment of income from Muttiyālapaṭṭu after getting it released from an encumbrance with the help of money donated by Tirumalayyaṅgār, son of Tāḷḷapākkam Annamayyaṅgar. This renewal is stated to have been sanctioned on the basis of a *rāyasam* from Sadāśivamahārāya and *tirumugam* from Rāmarājayya (*i.e.*, Aḷiya Rāmarāya). Another inscription from Sōmapalle,[207] Madanapalli taluk, dated Śaka 1480 (= 1558 A.D.) in the reign of Sadāśivadēva-mahā[rā]ya seems to record the gift of some *sarvamānya* at Sōṁpalle. This gift is stated to have been made on the basis of a *nirūpa* issued by Sadāśivarāya and the *ā*[*na*]*ti* (*i.e.*, the orders) of [Rāma]rājayya (*i.e.*, Aḷiya Rāmarāya).[208] These two instances illustrate clearly the influential position of Aḷiya Rāmarāya. It is therefore not surprising that even in the case of ordinary donations made for the merit of the emperor Sadāśivarāya, Rāmarāja's name is also associated with that of the emperor. This is often expressed in Tamil inscriptions as *rāya* and *rāja*[209] pointing respectively to Sadāśivarāya and Rāmarāja.

The only important event in the reign of Sadāśivarāya in so far as this district is concerned was the recapture of the fort of Chandragiri from some unspecified rebels. This information is given in a communication of St. Francis Xavier dated 16th June, 1544 A.D.[210] It is stated that before the date of that letter the 'Baḍagas', identified with members of Sadāśiva's army overran the territory from Chandragiri to the far south in order to subjugate the opponents of Rāmarāya not named. These opponents are stated to have obtained control over the fort of Chandragiri[211] and its dependent territory. There is no confirmation of this information regarding the loss of Chandragiri to the empire from inscriptions of this period. But inscriptions from Chittoor district refer to Chiṇṇa Timmayadēva-mahārāja as a governor of Chandragiri-rājya from 1547 A.D.[212] An inscription on the east wall of Kōdaṇḍarāmasvāmi temple at Chandragiri,[213] Chandragiri taluk dated Śaka 1469 (= 1547 A.D.) in the reign of Sadāśivadēvamahārāya seems to record the gift of income from several taxes levied locally at Chandragiri by *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmarāju Chiṇṇa Timmayadēvamahārāja[214] to the temple of Raghunātha at the place. Chandragiri is described as the personal fief (*nammiḍa paṛṛu*) of the governor. This chief[215] is already known to have held Āvuku-sīma[216] as a *nāyaṅkara* in Śaka 1466 (= 1544 A.D.). This chief is represented as ruling Chandragiri-rājya as his own province (*nammiḍa-śīrmai*)[217] in Śaka 1470 (= 1549 A.D.). It is not known whether this chief was transferred from Āvuku to Chandragiri. Since no evidence regarding the governorship of Chandragiri before 1547 A.D. is forth-coming from inscriptions and since the evidence from Portugese record point to the rebellious activities of the local rulers against Rāmārāya, it is very likely that this chief who accompanied his brother Viṭṭhaladēva-mahārāja in the southern campaign,[218] was posted as a governor of Chandragiri-rājya which included the northern parts of Tamilnāḍu.

However, the capture of Chandragiri by Chinna Timma is attested to by contemporary Telugu literature. The work called *Bālabhāgavatamu (Dvipada Bālabhāgavatamu)*[219] is a composition addressed to Chinna Timma himself by Kōnērinātha. It is a biography of this general and it states that he captured in anger Chandragiri and other forts.[220] We are not informed about the enemy from whom he captured it.

The capture by itself confirms indirectly the fact of some forces working against Rāmarāya in whose interest Chinna Timma acted.

Apart from a number of ministers, high dignitaries, generals, officers etc., that belonged to the regular hierarchy of the Vijayanagara empire one other person stands out prominently among them who had visited Tirupati and made endowments. He was Tiruvaḍirāja, who is stated to be ruling over Tiruvaḍirājya. He has been identified with Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Irāmavaṉmar (Rāmavarma) of Jētuṅganāḍu (Jayatuṅga-nāḍu) in Kollam 722 (= 1546 A.D.).[221] This king created an endowment of one half of the revenue income from the village Kuḷaiyapāṭṭam on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī river in the Tiruvaḍi-rājya for the purpose of providing for daily food offerings to the deities Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ and Gōvindarāja. The inscription recording this endowment is in the form of an undertaking given by the *sthānattār* of Tirumalai given to this king in respect of the same. It is dated Śaka 1479 (= 1557 A.D.).[222] This endowment is said to have been made for the merit of Viṭṭhaladēva-mahārāja, a well-known general belonging to a royal family. It is surmised, in the absence of any other indication, that this king of the Tiruvaḍirājya Bhūtalavīra Rāmavarman was present at Tirupati on the said date to offer worship to the deities and to make this endowment. Since Viṭṭhaladēva is known to have been in the overall charge of the entire Vijayanagara dominions in the south, it is apparent that this king Rāmavarman, who was ruling over the Travancore territory was a subordinate ally of Viṭṭhaladēva for whose merit he created this endowment. This happens to be a solitary reference at Tirupati to a ruling personage who does not belong to any of the ruling families of Vijayanagara royal house.

After Rāmarāya's death in the battle of Rākshasi-Taṅgiḍi in 1565 A.D.,[223] Sadāśiva continued to be the figure-head of the empire. The real powers seem to have passed on to Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala. Records dated in the reign of Sadāśiva occur in the Chittoor district upto about 1569 A.D.[224] Though Sadāśiva's records continued to occur in the areas outside Chittoor district upto 1576 A.D., the absence of his records after 1569 A.D. in Chittoor district is quite conspicuous. On the other hand records citing Tirumala with full royal titles begin to appear in this area from about Śaka 1493 (1571 A.D.)[225] This date is afforded by the Pengulūru grant which records the grant of Pengulūru surnamed Yellamarājēndrasamudra by Tirumala at the request of the Māṭla chief Tirumalarāja to the Brāhmaṇas. These facts seem to have a bearing on the history of Chandragiri which was slowly becoming a stronghold of the Āravīḍu family.

It is held by contemporaneous European authors as quoted by Heras that Sadāśivarāya was 'imprisoned' at Chandragiri by the Āravīḍu brothers Rāmarāya, Tirumala and

Veṅkaṭādri.[226] In view of the availability of records of this king all through this period it is difficult to agree with their statement. No doubt we cannot expect a non-European source to say that Sadāśiva was imprisoned and the Āravīḍu brothers were the sovereigns. Inscriptions refer to Sadāśiva and Rāmarāya together as the *rāya* and *rāja*. This, has already been discussed above in detail. Viewed against this background, we can only come to the conclusion that Aḷiya Rāmarāya wielded real power using Sadāśivarāya's name. His brother Tirumala continued to be powerful but the practice of mentioning the names of the reigning emperor and the Āravīḍu prince was given up. Thus, when we judge it with a proper perspective we find that Sadāśiva was only a stooge in the hands of the three Āravīḍu brothers. This led to the slow but gradual induction of the Āravīḍu family into the royal seat of the Vijayanagara power. They needed Sadāśiva's presence to justify their exercise of authority. It is therefore possible that they would have 'confined' Sadāśiva in a place of their choice. It will be curious to say that records were issued in the name of an imprisoned king! For, the Āravīḍu brothers had to guard themselves against anybody doing the same thing that they were upto.

Inscriptions in this area continued to record normal transactions during this period,[227] as if nothing had happened to affect these parts, although we know about the fateful battle of Rākshasi-Taṅgiḍi or Tālikōṭa in 1565 A.D. Indeed Chittoor district is too far from the Tuṅgabhadra basin and the Raichūr-Doab, where the events before and after the said battle were rocking the foundations of Vijayanagar empire. A local skirmish between Vijayadēva and Maṉuma-siddharaśa, helped by Janēyadēva is recorded in an inscription from Ghaṭṭu, (hamlet of Kambalapalle), Madanapalle taluk dated in Śaka 1492 (=1570-71 A.D.)[229]. This event does not seem to have any bearing on the political conditions of the day. The identities of the persons involved in this skirmish are not clear. If Maṉuma-siddharaśa could be a surviving scion of the Telugu-Chōḷa family of an earlier period, this event may be construed as an attempt on his part to revive the dynasty. There is however no supporting evidence to prove this. For, the Vijayanagara power was still holding out under Tirumala and Śrīraṅga who were stemming the tide of the Muslim onslaught. We step into clearer grounds in about 1576 A.D. when we find Śrīraṅga repairing to the fort of Chandragiri with all his treasurers leaving the capital Penugoṇḍa in charge of a trusted general.[230] On this date Veṅkaṭa is known to be the governor at Chandragiri.[231] The capital is reported to have been besieged by Ādil Shah of Bijāpūr. Śrīraṅga is stated to have contacted the Sultan of Gōlkōṇḍa, who not only supported him but also sent Fazl Khan to Chandragiri to conclude a pact of friendship.[232] Thus Chandragiri appears to have gained an importance as a place of safety which the Vijayanagara monarch can resort to in times of severe conflict. This naturally led to the raising of its status as the only capital of the Vijayanagara kings under Veṅkaṭa I, who succeeded Śrīraṅga.

The latest record for Śrīraṅga at Tirupati, though incomplete, gives the date Śaka 1510 and Sarvadhāri (=1588 A.D.)[233]. A copper-plate record from Śrīperumbudūr, Chingleput district, Tamilnadu, citing the reign of Śrīraṅga is dated Śaka 1514 Pramādi, Vaiśākha, śukla, dvādaśī.[234] The Śaka year and the cyclic year do not agree. The cyclic year Pramādi does not at all fall in the reign of Śrīraṅga. If we ignore this cyclic year, as we have to, the Śaka year will be found to correspond to 1592 A.D., when the cyclic year was Nandana. The possibility of Nandana being the intended cyclic year is supported by an inscription from Tirupati[235] dated Śaka 1514, Nandana, Kaṟkāṭaka, śu 15, Friday, Pūrāḍa-nakshatra (=1592 A.D., July 14) in the reign of Veṅkaṭa I, Śrīraṅga's brother. It is therefore possible that the date of this copper-plate provides the latest date for Śrīraṅga even as the Tirupati inscription provides the earliest date for Veṅkaṭa as a full fledged sovereign in his own right. Inscriptions quoting the reign of Venkaṭa I with full regal titles before 1592 A.D.,[236] will have to be considered as pointing to a joint rule by the brothers Śrīraṅga and Veṅkaṭa I. From 1592 A.D. onwards Veṅkaṭa was conducting the affairs of state as the emperor.

A few inscriptions belonging to the reign of Veṅkaṭa I refer to him as ruling from Penugoṇḍa.[237] One inscription refers to him also as ruling from Vijayanagara. An inscription from Siddhavaṭam[238] refers to Veṅkaṭa's rule over Chandragiri-śīma (*Chaṁdra girīṁdra-śīma-sāṁmrājyaṁbu-sēvunapuḍu*). The fact that, apart from Penugoṇḍa and Vijayanagara, Chandragiri is marked out as a place ruled by Veṅkaṭa shows that Chandragiri was the only other capital which obtained recognition as the seat of authority. We know that Veṅkaṭa was governor of Chandragiri-rājya in the earlier days. Śrīraṅga also is known to have come to Chandragiri under certain circumstances as explained above. But Chandragiri must have acquired a status almost equivalent to a capital. We have discussed above the circumstances under which it grew in importance as a result of the impact of the battle of Rākshasi-Taṅgiḍi. It is therefore no wonder that Veṅkaṭa is stated to be ruling also from Chandragiri[239]. Indeed, we find that on account of the continuing pressure from the Muslim states on the north of the Kṛishṇa river and on account of the rebellious tendencies of the chiefs of the Nāyaka kingdoms in the far south, Veṅkaṭa might have found it convenient to control his empire rather from Chandragiri than from Vijayanagara or from Penugoṇḍa. Only 4 inscriptions of Veṅkaṭa are available in Chittoor district covering his reign upto 1596 A.D.[240] He ruled upto 1614 A.D.

SĀḶUVA CHIEFS AND THEIR OFFICERS

Name of the chief or officer 1	Date 2	Findspot of the inscription with reference 3	Remarks 4
Śelva Tippa, son of Sāḷuva Tippayadēva	Śaka 1364, Dundubhi = 1442 A.D.	Sattravāḍa, Puttur taluk. A.R. Ep.,1911, No. 388.	Daḷavāy Śrīraṅga-Rāvuttar is mentioned.
Periya Mallayadēva, son of Sāḷuva Eṟṟa-Kampayadēva	Śaka 1368, Kshaya, Tulā, ba 5, Monday, Mṛigaśīrsha = 1446 A.D., October 10, ·35; ·04.	Tirumalai, Chandragiri Taluk, *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 277; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 210.	
Sāḷuva Śiṟu Mallaiyadēva-mahārāja, son of Gaṅgayadēva-mahārāja	Śaka 1372, Pramōdūta, Kaṇṇi, ba 9, Monday Tiruvādirai = 1450 A.D. August 31, ·39; ·49.	Tirumalai. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 277; *T.T.D.I.* Vol. I, No. 218.	
Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, son of Sāḷuva Guṇḍayadēva-mahārāja	Śaka 1378, Dhātu, Kaṇṇi, śu 13, Sunday, Śadayam = 1456 A.D., September 12, ·37; ·47.	Tirumalai, *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 278; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 4.	
Ahōbaḷadēva Kampayadēva-mahārāja	Śaka 1380, Bahudhānya, Kuṁbha, śu 10, Sunday Mṛigaśīrsha = 1459 A.D., February 11.	Tirumalai, *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 289; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 8.	
Sāḷuva Narasiṅgadēva	Śaka 1382, Vikrama, Mīna, ba Wednesday Uttiram = 1461 A.D., February 25.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 10.	Tippu-nāyakar, son of Timmānāyakar, a dance-master of the *Theatre* is mentioned.

1	2	3	4
Narasiṅga Uḍaiyār	Śaka 1384, Chitrabhānu Chittirai, 25th day = 1462 A.D., April 20.	Tirumalai. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 298; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 12.	.
Eṟṟamarāja, son of Timmarāja	Śaka 1385, Subhānu, Kanya, ba 8, Punarvasu Wednesday = 1463 A.D., September 7.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.* Vol. II, No. 16.	His titles are *Hattimalla* and *Allibhīma.*
Sāḷuva Timmarājadēva, son of Guṇḍurāja	Śaka 1385, Subhānu Tulā, śu 7, Tuesday Uttirāḍam = 1463 A.D. October 18, Tuesday f.d.t. ·05; ·87.	Tirumalai. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 274; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 17.	
Sāḷuva Mallayadēva-mahārāja, son of Sāḷuva Eṟṟa-Kaṁpayadēva-mahārāja	Śaka 1385, Subhānu, Makara, śu 10, Wednesday, Rōhiṇi = 1464 A.D. January 18.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 18.	
Sāḷuva Rāmachandrarāja, son of Sāḷuva Mallaiya-dēva-mahārāja	-do-	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 19.	
Timmayadēvachōḷa-mahārāja, son of Nallān Tirumalairāja	Śaka 1386, Tāraṇa, Rishabha, ba 14, Saturday, Kārttigai = 1464 A.D., May 5.	Tirumalai, *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 21.	

1	2	3	4
Sāḷuva Parvvatarāja, son of Sāḷuvarāja	Śaka 1387, Pārthiva, Mēsha, ba 7, Wednesday, Uttirāḍam = 1465 A.D., April 17, Wednesday, ·96; ·60.	Tirumalai. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 276; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 23.	His titles are Hosavirudaragaṇḍa, Gaṇḍamarāja. Also referred to in another inscription from Tirumalai (*T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II. No. 28).
Sāḷuva Narasiṅgayyadēva Mahā-arasu	Śaka 1389, Sarvajit, Pushya, śu. 1, Ā[divāra] = 1467 A.D., December 27, Sunday.	Tirupati. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 462; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 30.	
Sāḷuva Narasiṅgayyadēva-mahārāja, son of Guṇḍaiya-dēvamahārāja	Śaka 1389, Sarvajit, Mīna, ba 7, Wednesday, Mūlam = 1468 A.D., March 16, Wednesday, ·45; ·43.	Tirumalai. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 275; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 34.	Astigiri-ayyaṉ, his administrator is mentioned.
-do-	-do-	-do-	
Vallabhayadēva-mahārāja	Śaka [1*]390, Sarvadhāri, Siṁha, śu 13, Monday, Tiruvōṇam = 1468 A.D., August 1.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 35.	His titles are *Antembaragaṇḍa*, etc.
Sāḷuva Gōpayya, son of Sāḷuva Mallayadēva-mahārāja	Śaka 1391, Virōdhi, Mithuna, ba 12, Wednesday, Kārttigai = 1469 A.D., June 7.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 41.	Also referred to in another inscription from Tirumalai (*T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 42).
Sāḷuva Narasiṅgarāja Uḍaiyār	Śaka 1392, Vikṛiti, Śiṁha, ba 1, Sunday, Śadayam (Śatabhishak) = 1470 A.D., August 12.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 46.	Siddanaiyar, son ofPaḍumalai Dēvappagaḷ is mentioned as the agent of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.

1	2	3	4
Sāḷuva Narasiṁharāja Uḍaiyār	Śaka 1395, Vijaya, Mithuna, śu 8, Śadayam, Tuesday (the star combines with the weekday on the 6th lunar day in the dark fortnight) = 1473 A.D., June 15.	Tirumalai, *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 50.	
Dhōnakaṇḍi Siṅgamu Nāyakkar	Śaka 1395, Vijaya, Śiṅga, śu 12, Friday, Hasta = 1473 A.D., August (Irregular)	Tirumalai, *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 53.	
Nārasiṁhadēva, son of Pinnana	Śaka 1397, Manmatha, Kaṇṇi, ba 10, Sunday, Pūśam = 1475 A.D., September 24.	Tirumalai. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 288; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 58.	His titles are *Pāṇḍyabhūpālakhaṇḍan-ōddaṇḍakēsari*, *Kākatirājya-pratishṭhāpanādēśikaḥ*, *rājasāmantasiṁha* etc. Also referred to in another record from Tirumalai (*T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 59)
Kēsayanāyaka, son of Pinnana	Śaka 1397, Manmatha, Kaṇṇi, ba 10, Sunday, Pūśam = 1475 A.D., September 24.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 60.	Also referred to in another inscription from Tirumalai (*T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 61).
Chikka Timmarāja, son of Timmarāja	Śaka 1401, Vikāri, Kārttika, śu 12, Utthānadvādaśī = 1479 A.D.	Rāmasamudram, Punganur taluk, *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 173.	Narasiṅgarāja-Ōḍeya is referred to in this inscription.

1	2	3	4
Sāḷuva Timmarāja, son of Sāḷuva Mallayadēva-mahārāja.	Śaka 1403, Plava, Ka[t]kaṭaka śu 11, (ēkādaśi), Saturday, Aṇiḷa (Anurādhā)=1481 A.D., July 7.	Tirumalai, *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 286; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 76.	
Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, son of Guṇḍa	Śaka 1407 (given) in the chronogram *Sthānabhāgyē*, cyclic year is Viśvāvasu, Chittirai, śu 6, Wednesday = 1485 A.D., April 20.	Alipiri, foot of Tirupati. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 82.	Sāḷuva Nṛisiṁha is referred to in this record with the title *Sārvabhauma*.
Mukhappāḷam Nāgama-Nāyakkar	Śaka 1409, Plavaṅga, Siṁha, śu 13, Wednesday, Uttirāḍam =1487 A.D., August 1.	Tirumalai, *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 87.	He is referred to as a *nāyakattanam* in the service of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.
Kommarāja Śiṛu-Timmarāja Uḍaiyar	Śaka 1412, Sādhāraṇa, Mithuna śu 5, Friday, Śravaṇa. 5th lunar day of *śuklapaksha* of Mithuna must fall on Tuesday, 22nd June, Pūrva-phālguṇa; Śravaṇa falls on Saturday and Sunday *i.e.*, June 5th and 6th, 1490 A.D.	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 91.	His titles are *śrīman mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Uttamagaṇḍa*, *Ubhayaragaṇḍa*, *Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa and Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*.
Śiṟu Timmarāja-uḍaiyar, son of Kommarāja Uḍaiyar	Śaka 1412, Sādhāraṇa, Mithuna, śu 7, Thursday, Hasta = 1490 A.D., **June 24.**	Tirumalai. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 93.	

GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE SĀḶUVA CHIEFS, THEIR OFFICERS, GENERALS, ETC.

Table A

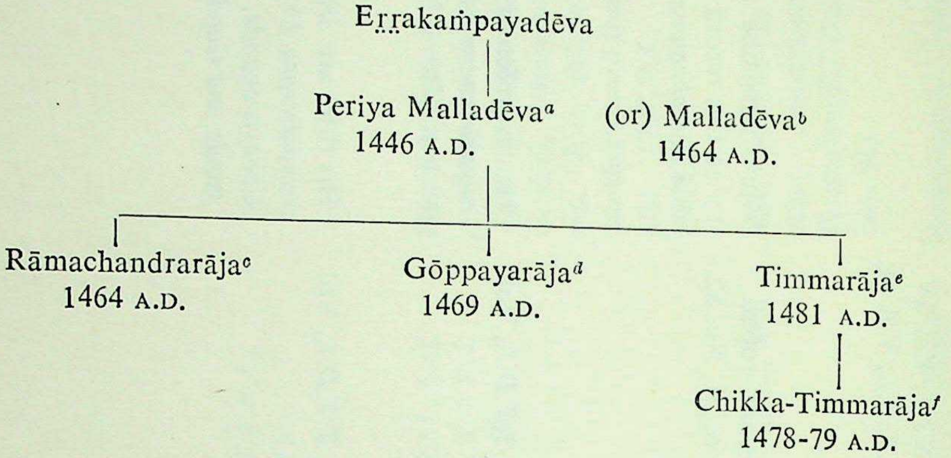

Eṟṟakaṁpayadēva
Periya Malladēva[a]
1446 A.D.
(or) Malladēva[b]
1464 A.D.
Rāmachandrarāja[c]
1464 A.D.
Gōppayarāja[d]
1469 A.D.
Timmarāja[e]
1481 A.D.
Chikka-Timmarāja[f]
1478-79 A.D.

Table B

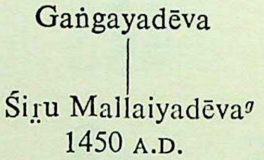

Gaṅgayadēva
Śiṟu Mallaiyadēva[g]
1450 A.D.

Table C

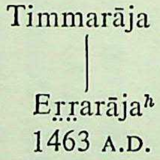

Timmarāja
Eṟṟarāja[h]
1463 A.D.

Table D

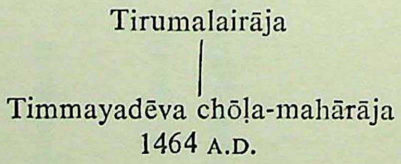

Tirumalairāja
Timmayadēva chōḷa-mahārāja
1464 A.D.

Table E

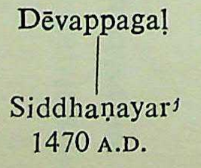

Dēvappagaḷ
Siddhaṇayar[i]
1470 A.D.

Table F

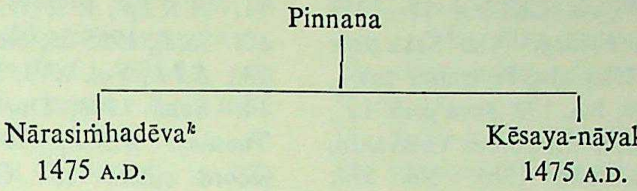

Pinnana
Nārasiṁhadēva[k]
1475 A.D.
Kēsaya-nāyaka[l]
1475 A.D.

Table G

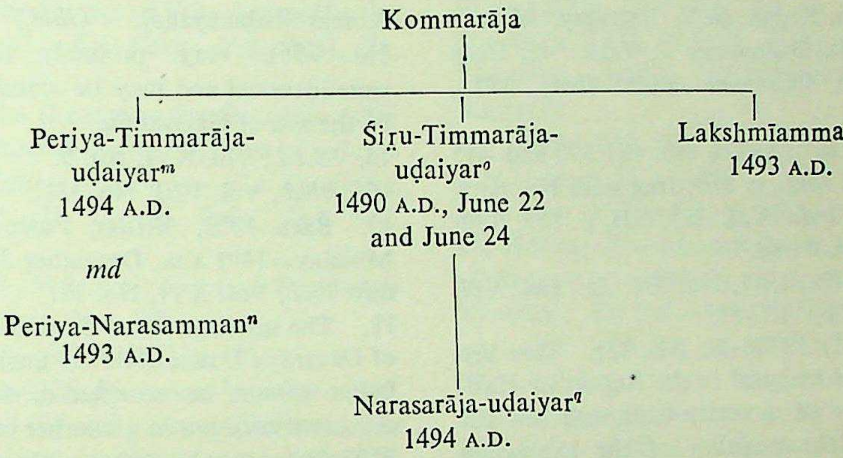

Kommarāja
Periya-Timmarāja-uḍaiyar[m]
1494 A.D.
md
Periya-Narasamman[n]
1493 A.D.
Śiṟu-Timmarāja-uḍaiyar[o]
1490 A.D., June 22 and June 24
Narasarāja-uḍaiyar[q]
1494 A.D.
Lakshmīamman[p]
1493 A.D.

Table H

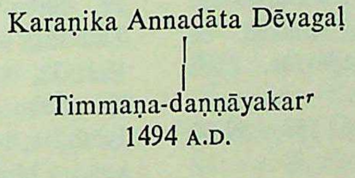
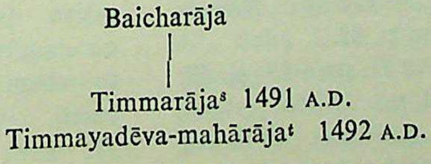

Karaṇika Annadāta Dēvagaḷ
Timmaṇa-daṇṇāyakar[r]
1494 A.D.

Table I


Baicharāja
Timmarāja[s] 1491 A.D.
Timmayadēva-mahārāja[t] 1492 A.D.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Śaka 1274, Vijaya, Chittirai 25=1353 A.D., April 19, Friday. The Śaka year was 1275; from Ulapāḍu, Punganur taluk, *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 172; Jaya year *i.e.*, Śaka 1275=1352-53 A.D., from Yātavākili, Punganur taluk, *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 577; Śaka 1282, Sārvari, Śrāvaṇa, śu. 10, Thursday=1360 A.D., July 23, f.d.t. ·27, from Eḍūru, Punganur taluk, *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 203; Śaka 1283, Plava, Puraṭṭāśi, Kaṉṉi, śu 7, Tuesday, Mūla= 1361 A.D. September 7, f.d.t. ·42; from Kurmāyi, Palmaner taluk, *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 309.

2. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 181/373 and 485 T.T. and *Ibid.*, p. 169, foot note No. 6.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 159, footnote Nos. 4 and 5.

4. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 391; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 157-59.

5. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 221. This inscription is assigned in the Report to Harihara, son of Kumāra-Kampaṇa on the basis of the mention of the expression '*Hariharanātha*'. But an examination of the impression of this record from Nallūrupalle revealed that it does not refer to Harihara at all. The word *Hariharanātha* was a tittle of Kampaṇa, referred to here as Kumāra-Kampaṇa-uḍaiyār. (See lines 10-13 in the text).

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XXVIII, p. 157, 159-60 and plate A, facing p. 160.

7. Śaka 1281, Vikāri, Āshāḍha, śu 10, Saturday=1359 A.D., July 6; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 179/237 T.T.

8. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar : *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 32.

9. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, part II, para 29, p. 49; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 157-58.

10. *J.K.U.*, (Social Sciences), Vol. VII, April 1971 : The Gōzalavīḍu inscription of Bukkarāya-voḍeyalu edited by B.R. Gopal, see, p. 4, foot note No. 7.

11. *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. 69.

12. *Ibid.*, 1955-56, Nos. 5 and 6.

13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 11.

14. Śaka 1303, Durmati [Pushya], śu 1, Tuesday. *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, No. 6. This record refers to Ōbaḷanātha whose relationship to Hariyaṇṇa is not stated clearly. Another inscription from Tamarājapalle, Punganur taluk dated in the cyclic year Bhāva (=1394 A.D.) refers to Komarō[baḷanāyaka]. (*Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 296). Very probably these two were identical and may be considered to be the son of Hariyaṇṇa.

15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 9.

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 491.

17. Śaka 1323, Vṛisha, Pushya, ba. 6, Monday=1401 A.D., December 26, Monday; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 11.

18. The statement that Harihara, the son of Dēvarāya I, described his uncle as the father cannot be accepted in view of the consistent mention in a number of records of Virūpaṇṇa as his father without referring to Dēvarāya I at all. (See *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, Introduction p. 1; *A. R. Ep.*, 1922-23, part II, para 75, p. 117).

19. Śaka 1314, Śrīmukha, Māgha, ba 5, Thursday=1392 A.D., January 22; *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 226.

20. Śaka 1327 (in words), Tāraṇa, Jyēshṭha, śu 5, Wednesday Pushya=1404 A.D., May 14; *Ibid.*, No. 227. The Annual Report considers the expression *mahāpradhāna* preceding this set of epithets as qualifying the name [Bo]mmaṇa-oḍeya (misread as [Jo]mmaṇa) which occurs after the name of Bukkarāya-oḍeya to whom the epithets should be attributed.

21. Śaka 1328, Pārthiva, Jyēshṭha, ba 7, Wednesday=1405 A.D., May 20; *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 572; It has already been said about the doubtfulness in the identifica-

tion of Jorṁmaṁṇa-oḍeya of our record with Jommaṇa-uḍaiyar, son of Vīra-Kumāra Kampaṇa-uḍaiyar mentioned as a ruler in the Tirukkōyilūr inscriptions. See the discussion in *Ibid.*, 1934-35, part II, para 39, p. 70; *contra : Ibid.*, 1907, part II, para 53, p. 68.

22. *Ibid.*, 1921, part II, para 46, p. 102; N. Venkataramanayya and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri have fixed the date of his death in 1404 A.D., September 15 on the basis of a record from Tirthahalli taluk. (see *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 63; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 129).

23. Bukka II came to the throne in 1404 A.D., October 5. *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 63; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 1; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 13.

24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, p. ii and Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 480.

25. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 489.

26. Śaka 1327, Pārthiva, Āshāḍha, śu 1, Sunday = 1405 A.D., June 27 (the week-day, however, was Saturday); *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 17.

27. *A.R Ep.*, 1922-23, part II, para 74. These three have been identified with Kaṁpa I, Bukka II and Kaṁpa II. This cannot be accepted because the find-spot *i.e.*, Tambaḷḷapalle (called Taṁmadiyahaḷḷi) and Chandragiri, the place of deity Mallikārjuna who was the beneficiary of the grant could not have formed part of Vijayanagara territory in the times of Kaṁpaṇa I. Therefore the first of these three cannot be identified with Kaṁpaṇa I.

28. Śaka 1327, Pārthiva, Śravaṇa, śu 10, Friday = 1405 A.D., August 5 (the week-day, however, was Wednesday). *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 18.

29. *Ibid.*, Nos. 19 and 20.

30. Śaka 1328, Vyaya, Vaiśākha, śu. 1, Monday = 1406 A.D., April 19,

31. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 20.

32. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 194/92 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 195/93 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 196/88 T.T.; Śaka 1330, Sarvadhāri, Mīna, ba 12, Wednesday, Aviṭṭam = 1409 A.D., March 13.

33. Śaka 1339, Hēmaḷaṁ[bi], Siṁha, śu. 12, Wednesday, Tiruvōṇam = 1417 A.D., August 25; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 196/88 T.T. Mallaṇṇagaḷ got constructed from above the *adhisṭhāna* (*Kuṛaḍu*) to the *sthūpi* and the *meykkal* on it.

34. *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, No. 294.

35. Śaka 1332, Vikṛita, Chaitra, śu. 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse = 1419 A.D., March 21.

36. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 324; *Ibid.*, 1912-13, part II, para 53, p. 119.

37. Śaka 1332, Vikṛiti, Bhādrapada, śu 11, Monday, Śravaṇa-nakshatra, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa-yōga = 1410 A.D., September 10, Monday ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 69 ff.

38. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 286-92.

39. *A.R Ep.*, 1912, No. 324; *Ibid.*, 1912-13, part II, para 53, p. 119.

40. Śaka 1348, Parābhava, Māgha, śu [11], Thursday = 1427 A.D., January 9; *Ibid.*, 1952-53, No. 278.

41. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 228.

42. *Ibid.*, 1952-53, No. 278.

43. P.B. Desai, B.R. Gopal and S.H. Ritti : *A History of Karnataka*, p. 351 (Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970).

44. *A. R. Ep.*, 1911, No. 389.

45. Śaka 1349, Plavaṅga, Dhanus, śu 10, Monday, Kārttigai-nakshatra = 1427 A.D., December 29; *Ibid.*, 1921, No. 270.

46. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 226.

47. Śaka 1348, Parābhava, Kanni, śu 7, Sunday, Mūla = 1426 A.D., September 8, Sunday, f.d.n. ·26; This inscription in Tamil has not been noticed so far. It was copied and deciphered by me in the course of my field work.

48. Śaka 1351, [Saumya], Mārgasira, śu.

10. Monday = 1429 A.D., December 5; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 192/188 T.T.

49. Śaka 1352, Sādhāraṇa, Āshāḍha, śu. 10, Viśākha, Saturday = 1430 A.D., July 1; *Ibid.*, No. 193/99 T.T.

50. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 308 and p. 310.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

52. Śaka 1355, Pramādīcha, Vṛischika, śu 10, Sunday, Rēvati = 1533 A.D., Nov. 22; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I. No. 199/89 T.T.

53. The identification of this Mallāṇḍaiyar with Mādhavadāśa *alias* Mallaṇaigaḷ is not correct on account of the differences in the name and the description. (See *T.T.D.Ep. Report.*, p. 134 for further details). It may be difficult to identify him with Dēvarāya I's officers Mallaṇṇa, or his subordinate Mādi-arasa referred to in a record of Śaka 1332 (= 1410 A.D.) from Tiruttaṇi, Chingleput district. (See *A.R.Ep.*, 1943-44, No. 167).

54. Śaka 1366, Raktākshi, Tulā, ba 5, Friday, Mṛigaśīrsha = 1444 A.D., October 2; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 197/64 T.T.

55. Śaka 1364, Dundubhi, Māgha, śu 11 = 1443 A.D., January 12; *Ibid.*, No. 209/100 T.T.

56. Śaka 1371, Śukla, Mīna, ba 6, Wednesday, Anurādhā = 1450 A.D., March 4; *Ibid.*, No. 217/199 G.T.

57. *A. R. Ep.*, 1911, No. 388.

58. The eldest of the sons of Gauta II was Guṇḍa (III) whose valour alluded to in *Jaiminī-Bhāratamu*, in Telugu in the following verse of *Utpalamāla metre.*

ఉ. వీర లలామ నగ్రణుడు విక్రమ
శ్రీసిరి గుండ ధాత్రుపుడో ధారుఁడు
దారుఁ దొంతని ప్రతాపము లక్షుఁ
వికటోల్ల దుర్వార విరోధి వీర
నగరంబులంకున్ హాలకంటిమంటపై
వైరినృపాల సైన్య వనవాటికి
దావ కృశాను పంటతై

59. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IX, part II, (October 1934), pp. 18-19. There is an interesting account of the birth of Narasiṁha as a son of Guṇḍa and Mallāmbikā in a Sanskrit work called *Rāmābhyudayam*. This work further describes in detail about his career and achievements.

60. *Jaiminī-Bhāratamu*, a Telugu poetical work mentions Sāḷva (Sāḷuva) Tippa as a brother of Boppa and as a renowned warrior, unparalleled in valour, courage and heroism. It also attributes to him several titles, which he acquired through the prowess of his arms, such as *Mīsaragaṇḍa*, *Kaṭhāri-Sāḷuva* and *pañchaghaṇṭānināda*, which epithets are later on also ascribed to Narasiṁha (Nṛisiṁharāya), son of Guṇḍa (III) in the Dēvulapalli plates of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha (verses 12-15) dated Śaka 1427 (expressed by the chronogram *giri-nētra-yuga-indu*), Raktākshi, Bhādrapada, full-moon (lunar eclipse), Sunday = 1504 A.D., August 25 (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. VII, pp. 81-83 and plate facing pp. 82 and 83). The relevant verses in *Jaiminī-Bhāratamu* describing Tippa are quoted below:

శా. ఆ బొప్పాధిపు సోదరుండు
సుతజనన్య శ్రీసుధాంశాధ హేలంబుం
మాఢిరి రక్షణారంబు నిధి వేఁగు మే
ఖలాం చక్రుడై పరిబలవ్రాతంబున
సాళ్వ తిప్ప ధరణీపాలుండు
పాలించెదా శా బల్త్రి తి వహించి
నిత్యవినుత క్ష్మా సాధ్య యవాంధ
ంబులన్.
తే.గీ. సార మీసరగండ కఠారి
(కఠారి) సాళ్వ పంచ ఘంటా
నినాదా ఘ్రుమద శరద కాహళా
రావ సంపాంత కంపితారి
దోర్బలం శ్రీ స్సాళువ తిప్ప, శౌరి

61. Śaka 1368, Kshaya, Tulā, ba 5, Monday, Mṛigaśīrsha =1446 A.D., October 10, Monday, ·35; ·04; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 279; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 210/13 T.T.

62. Śaka 1385, Subhānu, Makara, śu. 10, Wednesday, Rōhiṇi=1464 A.D., January 18; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 18/157 T.T.

63. Śaka 1372, Pramōdūta, Kaṉṉi, ba 9, Monday, Tiruvādirai=1450 A.D., August 31, Monday ·39; ·49; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 277; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 218/23 T.T.

64. Śaka 1378, Dhātu, Kaṉṉi, śu 13, Sunday=1456 A.D., September 12, ·37; ·47; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 278; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 4.

65. *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, part II, para 56, p. 70; *Ibid.*, 1919, part II, para 39, p. 104.

66. Śaka 1386, Tāraṇa, Mithuna, śu 3, Thursday, Pushya=1464 A.D., June 7, Thursday, f.d.t. ·21; f.d.n. ·25; *Ibid.*, 1919, part II, para 47, p. 106.

67. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, part II, para 44, p. 71; *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1908-09, pp. 164-65.

68 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IX, part II, pp. 19-20; Rājanātha-Diṇḍima : *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*; Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya: *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, pp. 143 and 146.

69. *A. R .Ep.*, 1934-35, part II, para 44, p. 71.

70. *Ibid.*, 1907, part II, para 56, p. 70; *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 1.

71. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, No. 111. Śaka 1393, Vikṛiti, Aippaśi 13, trayōdaśī, Monday, Aśvatī. Irregular.

72. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, No. 213.

73. Śaka 1393, Khara, Makara, śu 10, Monday, Rōhiṇi=1472 A.D., January 20, f.d.t. ·07.

74. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 276.

75. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 286.

76. Śaka 1404, Pramōdūta, Vaiśākha, śu 1. Śaka 1404 corresponds to the cyclic year Śubhakṛit in which year the details cited give the equivalent 1482 A.D., April 19, Friday; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 471.

77. Śaka 1[405] (current) Śubhakṛit= 1483 A.D.; *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. B 6.

78. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 82/273 G.T.—line 4.

79. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 81, text lines 22-27.

80. Śaka 1378, Dhātṛi=1456 A.D.; *A. R. Ep.*, 1910, No. 304.

81. Śaka 1392, Vikṛiti, Makara=1470-71 A.D.

82. Śaka 13[9]3, Khara, Karkāṭaka, śu 5 (*pañchamī*), Sunday, Mūla=1471 A.D., July 21, Sunday, f.d.t. ·40 ; *Ibid.*, 1921, No. 461; *Ibid.*, 1920-21, App. F. Śaka 1393, kṛi., Kuṁbha, śu 1, Monday=1470 A.D., August 27, Monday, ·41; ·52, Month was Siṁha; the cyclic year was Vikṛita and the Śaka year current.

83. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 74-84 and plates.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 81, text lines 24-26, 29-30 and 33-36.

85. P.B. Desai, B.R. Gopal and S.H. Ritti : *A History of Karnāṭaka*, p. 363.

86. *A. R. Ep.* 1911, No. 388.

87. Śaka 1387, Pārthiva, Mēsha, ba 7, Wednesday, Uttirāḍam= 1465 A.D., April 17; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 276; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 23/53 T.T.

88. Śaka 1378, Dhātu, Kanya (Kanni), śu 13, Sunday, Śadaiyam=1456 A.D., September 12; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 278; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 4/3 T.T.

89. Śaka 1385, Subhānu, Tulā, śu 7, Tuesday, Uttirāḍam=1463 A.D., October 18; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 274; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 17/69 T.T.

90. Śaka 1388, Vyaya, Mīna, [ba 3], Tuesday, Anurādha=1467 A.D., March 24, (if ba 3 of the lunar month Chaitra in Sarvajit is admitted); *Ibid.*, No. 25/341 T.T.

91. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 74-84. The references apply only to inscriptions available from Chittoor district.

92. Cyclic year Manmatha, Bhādrapada, ba 10, Sunday, Pushya=1475 A.D., September 24 (if *Adhikā-māsa* occurred in Bhādrapada or before so as to make Bhādrapada and Kanya months coinciding with each other, for discussion (see *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, p. 112, foot note No. 1); *Ibid.*, No. 59/347 A.T.T. This verse inscription is in *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre.

93 Śaka 1397, Manmatha, Kaṉṉi, ba 10, Sunday, Pūsam=1475 A.D., September 24; *Ibid.*, No. 58/347 T.T.

94. *Ibid.*, No. 58/347 T.T., verse 7. This inscription contains seven verses in *Anushṭubh* metre.

95. Śaka 1397, Manmatha, Kaṉṉi, ba 10, Sunday, Pūsam=1475 A.D., September 24; *Ibid.*, No. 60/574 T.T. and No. 61/575 T.T.

96. Śaka 1417, Rākshasa, Kaṟkāṭaka, śu 10, Wednesday, Svātinakshatra=1495-A.D., July 1; *Ibid.*, No. 133/628 T.T.

97. Śaka 1427, Raktākshi, Bhādrapada, Paurṇamī, lunar eclipse, Sunday=1504 A.D., August 25, Sunday; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 74-84.

98. Śaka 1426, Raktākshi, Kaṉṉi, śu 10, Friday, Tiruvōṇam=1504 A.D., September 20; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 138/271 T.T.

99. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 37 and *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 40.

100. Śaka 1415, Pramādi, Chaitra, śu 15, Monday, lunar eclipse=1493 A.D., April 1; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 37.

101. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 489; *A. R. Ep.*, 1924, No. 151; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 50; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, p. 148 ff.; *Ibid.*, No. 65/459 T.T., verses 4-6, 13-14. These verse inscriptions are in the *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* and *Anushṭubh* metres.

102. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 39-42.

103. Śaka 1426, Raktākshi, Kaṉṉi, ba 10, Wednesday, Pūsam=1504 A.D., September 4. (But the week-day was Tuesday); *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 1/305 T.T.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 2, foot note No. 3.

105. Śaka 1430, Vibhava, Kaṟkaṭaka, ba 6, Tuesday, Rēvati=1508 A.D., July 18; *Ibid.*, No. 13/255 G.T.

106. Śaka 1425, Kshaya, Vṛishabha, ba 12, Tuesday, Asvati (Aśvinī)=1506 A.D., May 19; *Ibid.*, No. 6/605 T.T.; Śaka 1428, Kshaya, Dhanus, Paurnami, Monday, Mṛigaśīrsha=1506 A.D., December 30; *Ibid.*, No. 9/197 G.T.

107. *Ibid.*, No. 65/459 T.T., Verses 15-18 —All these verses are in *Sragdharā* metre.

108. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 91/371 T.T. This verse inscription in *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre which should have found a place in *Ibid.*, Vol. III of inscriptions of Kṛishṇarāya's time, has been included in Vol. I, containing inscriptions of the previous period *i.e.*, early Vijayanagara period.

109. *A.R Ep.*, 1925, No. 419.

110. Śaka 1431, Karkaṭaka, śu 5=1509 A.D., July 22; *Ibid.*, 1915, No. 289.

111. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, Introduction, p. iv.

112. Śaka 1436, Bhāva, Āshāḍha, śu 15, Thursday, Uttirāḍam=1514 A.D., July 6: *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 282-85; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 66/201 T.T. (Tamil), *Ibid.*, No. 67/254 T.T. (Kannaḍa) and *Ibid.*, No. 68/256 T.T. (Telugu).

113. Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Pushya, śu 10, Friday=1517 A.D. January 2, Friday; *Ibid.*, No. 80/578 T.T. (Telugu record).

114. Śaka 1442, Vikrama, Phālguṇa, śu 11, Sunday=1521 A.D., February 17; *Ibid.*, Nos. 83-86.

115. Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Pushya, śu [13], Monday=1517 A.D., January 5, Monday; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 495.

116. *T.T D.I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 32-39; 60-68; 76-86.

117. *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, pp. 168-69.

118. Śaka 1436, Bhāva, Āshāḍha, śu 15, Thursday, Uttirāḍam (the *nakshatra* is not

mentioned in the Kannaḍa and Telugu versions)=1514 A.D., July 6; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 282-84; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 66/201 T.T., (Tamil), *Ibid.*, No. 67/254 T.T. (Kannaḍa) and *Ibid.*, No. 68/256 T.T. (Telugu); *Ibid.*, No. 70/202 T.T. (Tamil); *Ibid.*, No. 71/257 and 245 T.T. (Telugu); *Ibid.*, No. 72/262 T.T. (Kannaḍa); *Ibid.*, No. 73/203 T.T. (Tamil); *Ibid.*, No. 74/255 T.T. (Telugu) and *Ibid.*, No. 76/261 T.T. (Kannaḍa).

119. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 201; *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, p. 152, pp. 168-69.

120. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 66/201 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 67/254 T.T. and *Ibid.*, No. 68/256 T.T.

121. *Ibid.*, No. 76/579 T.T. (Telugu): *Ibid.*, No. 77/580 T.T. (Kannaḍa) and *Ibid.*, No. 78/619 T.T. (Tamil).

122. *Ibid.*, No. 76/579 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 77/580 T.T. and *Ibid.*, No. 78/619 T.T.

123. *Ibid.*, No. 80/578 T.T.

124. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 495.

125. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 57; Śaka 1438, Dhātṛi, Pushya, ba 7, Wednesday=1517 A.D., January 14.

126. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 684 and 684-A.

127. *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, No. 641.

128. *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, p. 180.

129. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 59.

130. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 80/578 T.T.

131. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 57.

132. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 59.

133. See *Director General's Annual Report* for 1908-09, p. 180.

134. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 48.

135. Śaka 1433, Prajōtpatti, Dhanus, śu 5, Thursday, Uttiraṭṭādi=1511 A.D., December 25; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 19/334 T.T.

136. Śaka 1445, Chitrabhāṇu, Siṁha, śu 7, Wednesday, Anurādhā=1522 A.D., August 27; *Ibid.*, No. 154/97 G.T.

137. Śaka 1432, . .da, Kārttika, śu. 12=1510 A.D., October 14, Monday (if the cyclic year is Pramōda); *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 48.

138. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 19/334 T.T.

139. *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*

141. *Ibid.*

142. *Ibid.*, No. 154/97 G.T.

143. *Ibid.*, No. 130/77 T.T.

144. *A.R. Ep.*, 1924, No. 166.

145. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 48.

146. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 135/79 T.T.

147. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 75.

148. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 26/60 T.T.

149. *Ibid.*, No. 168/291 and 292 T.T.

150. *Ibid.*, No. 109/180 T.T.

151. *Ibid.*, No. 105/311 T.T.

152. *Ibid.*, No. 177/29 T.T.

153. *Ibid.*, No. 89/192 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 152/346 T.T.

154. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 48; Śaka 1439, Īśvara, Vṛiśchika, ba 6, Wednesday Pushya=1517 A.D., November 4, ·94; ·86; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 113.

155. Śaka 1454, Nandana, Śrāvaṇa, ba 10, Saturday, Rōhiṇī=1532 A.D., July 27, Saturday, ·56; ·30; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No 98; *A.R. Ep.*, 1924, No. 158.

156. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 98, text, p. 113, line 1.

157. Śaka 1454, Nandana, Kaṛkaṭaka, ba 10, Saturday, Rōhiṇī=1532 A.D., July 27, Saturday, ·56; ·30; *A.R.Ep.*, 1924, No. 157 (Kāḷahasti record).

158. Śaka 1454, Nandana, Jyēshṭha, ba 12, Thursday=1532 A.D., May 30, f d.t. ·66; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 97 (Kāñchīpuram record).

159. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 548 (Kāñchīpuram record).

160. *Ibid*, Vol. VII, No. 53 (Kāñchīpuram record).

161. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 98; *Ibid.*, No. 97.

162. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, Nos. 550 and

551; *Ibid.*, No. 547 (Kāñchīpuram record).

163. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 53.

164. *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, p. 220.

165. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 98.

166. *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, pp. 220-21.

167. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 158.

168. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 235 (Madras, 1946).

169. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 235.

170. Pandit R.V. Krishnamachariar: *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* (of Sri Rajanatha), with a commentary, Part I, Canto III, verse 23, p. 65 (Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1907).

171. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 158; *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, p. 220.

172. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-24.

173. *T.T D.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 16/453 T.T.

174. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 35, foot note No. 2 and p. 36, foot note No. 1; *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto V, verses 41-44; *T.T.D. Ep. Report.*, p. 221.

175. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

176. *Ibid.*

177. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 52 and 53.

178. Pandit R.V. Krishnamachariar : *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto III, verse 24, p. 65.

179. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 98.

180. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 16/453 T.T.

181. Pandit R.V. Krishnamachariar : *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto III, verses 24-36, pp. 65-71.

182. R. Sewell : *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 366-67.

183. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 86; A.R.Ep., 1919, No. 512.

184. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 310-23.

185. This is dated Śaka 1450 (current) Virōdhi, Kārtika, śu 15, Sunday. The Śaka year quoted is wrong for 1451 for which the details correspond to 1529 A.D., October 17, (lunar eclipse); *S I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 86.

186. *Ibid.*, No. 98; *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. vi.

187. Śaka 1448, Pārthiva, Phālguṇa, śu 15, Wednesday = 1526 A.D., February 28. The *tithi* ended at ·10 on the previous day; *N.D.I.*, part II, pp. 802-04.

188. Sarvajit, Māgha, śu 4 = 1527 A.D., January 6, Sunday. The Śaka year was 1449; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 374.

189. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sd. 15.

190. Śaka 1450 (mistake for 1451), Virōdhi, Mārgaśira, śu 10 = 1529 A.D., November 11; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 39.

191. R. Sewell ; *A Forgotton Empire*, pp. 366-67.

192. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part II, Nos. 550 and 551.

193. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 98.

194. *A.R.Ep.*, 1924, No. 157.

195. Śaka 1454, Nandana, Kar̤kaṭaka, Śrāvaṇa, ba 10, Saturday, Rōhiṇī = 1532 A.D., July 27, ·56; ·30.

196. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part II, Nos. 547 and 548; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 52 and 53.

197. N. Venkataramanayya : *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 33.

198. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 549.

199. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 16/453 T.T.

200. *T.T D., Ep. Report.*, pp. 221-23.

201. Śaka 1463, Plava, Kuṁbha, śu 13, Sunday, Pushya = 1542 A.D., January 29, ·55, f.d.n. ·12; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 165.

202. Śaka 1463, Plava, Kar̤kaṭaka, ba 12, Thursday, Punar-pūśam = 1541 A.D., July 21; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1/659 T.T.

203. N. Venkataramanayya : *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 76 ff.

204. Śaka 1467, Krōdhi, Siṁha, śu 11, Monday, Rōhiṇī (Irregular), ba 11 (not śu

11), Rōhiṇī combined in Kaṛkaṭaka=1544 A.D., July 14, f.d.t. ·57; f.d.n. ·25; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 163.

205. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 243.

206. Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Kaṛkaṭaka, ba 10, Friday, Bharaṇi=1545 A.D., July 13; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. V, No. 47/681 T.T.

207. Śaka 1480, Kāḷayukti, Śrāvaṇa, ba 10=1558 July 31; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 230.

208. *Ibid.*, Text lines 9-10.

209. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 271; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. V, No. 53/360 G.T.

210. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 245.

211. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 247; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 188.

212. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 269 and 270.

213. Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Karkaṭaka, ba 7, Saturday, Rēvati=1547 A.D., July 9; *Ibid.*, No. 269.

214. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 269 and 270 —These two inscriptions treated separately seems to pertain to a single transaction.

215. The genealogy of the chief Chinna Timmayadēva-mahārāja is given in *A.R.Ep.*, 1915, part II, para 50, p. 111; *Ibid.*, 1914, No. 191 and in *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 201.

216. Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Kārtika, śu 12 =1544 A.D., October 27; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 132 and 134; Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Kārtika, ba 12=1544 A.D., November 12; *Ibid.*, No. 138.

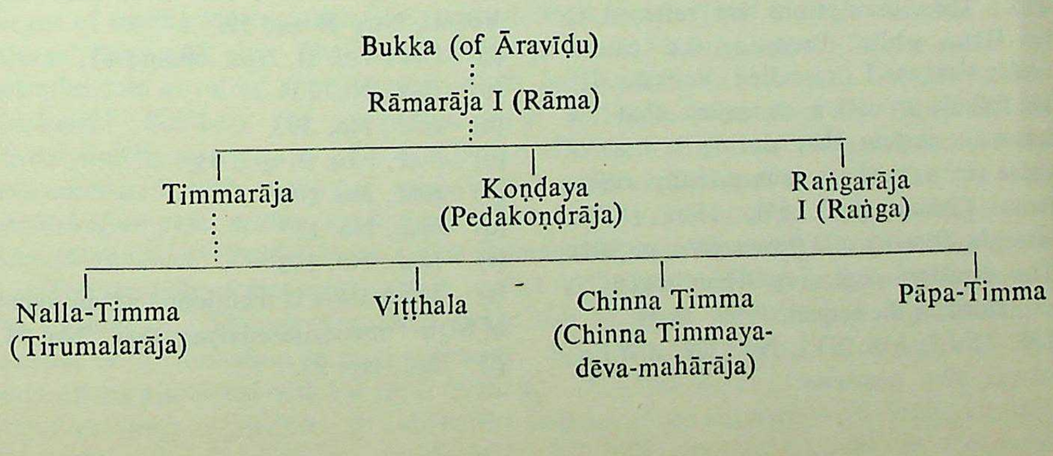
217. Śaka 1470, (mistake for 1471) Saumya; *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 443, *Ibid.*, 1911, part II, para 56, p. 86.

218. *Ibid.*, 1915, part II, para 50, p. 111; Śaka 1467, Krōdhin, Śrāvaṇa, ba 6 (not verifiable); *Ibid.*, 1914, No. 191.

219. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar : *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 209 (University of Madras, Madras 1919). The text reads: "*kṛita-kṛityunakuṁ=Jaṁdragiri-mukhya-durga vitata mahaiśvarya-vilasit-ātmunaku*". The expression *kṛita-kṛityunaku* means 'the fulfilment of the intended work'. It may be surmised that from this he (Chinna Timmayadēva-mahārāja) recaptured the fort of Chandragiri.

220. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. III, p. 188.

221. *A.R.Ep.*, 1900, part II, para 80, pp. 28-29; *Ibid.*, 1917, part II, para 46, p. 130; *Ibid.*, 1916, No. 584. This record is dated in Śaka 1468, Kollam 722, Parābhava, Mārgaḻi, 8, Paurṇai, Monday, Sōbhana-yōga, Rōhiṇī=1546 A.D., December 6, Monday, f.d.t. ·47.



222. Śaka 1479, Piṅgala, Kaṉṉi, ba 7, Friday, Rōhiṇī=1557 A.D., September 14; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. V, No. 158/147 G.T.

223. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, pp. 279-81.

224. Śaka 1491, Śukla, Vṛiśchika, ba 14, Ādivāra (Sunday), Pūraṭṭādi; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 331.

225. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912-13, No. A 1.

226. H. Heras : *The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 233 and pp. 246-47 (1927, Madras).

227. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 430.

228. *Ibid.*, 1928, part II, para 65.

229. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 350.

230. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 302.

231. *Ibid*, p. 301 and p. 298; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 254.

232. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar : *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 236-37, for Fazl Khan, see *Yavāti Charitramu* by Ponnikaṇṭi Telaganārya.

233. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. VI, part I, No. 8/34 G.T.

234. *A.R Ep.*, 1924-25, No. A 11.

235. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. VI, part I, No. 9/412 G.T.

236. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 298 etc. and Introduction, p. ix.

237. These inscriptions are referred to by Heras while discussing the capital under Veṅkaṭa I (miscalled Veṅkaṭa II). He follows up with a statement that "we know for certain that during several of these years, Veṅkaṭa was actually ruling from Chandragiri". (H. Heras : *The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 304). The position regarding Chandragiri is explained in the sequel.

238. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 309, *A.R.Ep.*, 1915, No. 564.

239. Heras refers to the following European writers as reporting that Veṅkaṭa was a resident of Chandragiri. But he has not given the exact dates of these writings. H. Heras : *The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 312.

240. Śaka 1514, Nandana, Karkaṭaka (Āḍi), śu 15 (Paurṇami), Friday, Pūrāḍha =1592 A.D., July 14; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. VI, part I, No. 9/412 G.T.; Śaka 1515, Vijaya, Makara, śu 5, Thursday, Rēvatī =1594 A.D., January 16, *Ibid.*, No. 10/413 G.T.; Śaka 1515, Vijaya, Mīna (Paṅguṇi), śu 2, Wednesday, Rēvatī= 1594 A.D., March 13, *Ibid.*, No. 11/398 G.T.; Śaka 1518, Durmukhi, Mēsha (Chittirai), śu 2, Monday, Rōhiṇī=1596 A.D., April 19, *Ibid.*, No. 12/359 G.T.

For Tables :

(a) *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 279.
(b) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 18.
(c) *Ibid.*, No. 10.
(d) *Ibid.*, Nos. 41 and 42.
(e) *Ibid.*, No. 76; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 286.
(f) *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 173.
(g) *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 277; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I. No. 218.
(h) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 16.
(i) *Ibid.*, No. 21.
(j) *Ibid.*, No. 46.
(k) *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 288; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, Nos. 58 and 59.
(l) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 60 and 61.
(m) *Ibid.*, No. 124.
(n) *Ibid.*, No. 103.
(o) *Ibid*, Nos. 91 and 93.
(p) *Ibid.*, No. 104.
(q) *Ibid.*, No. 127.
(r) *Ibid.*, No. 113.
(s) Timmarāja is mentioned as an agent of Śiṟu-Timmarāja-uḍaiyar. *Ibid.*, No. 94.
(t) *Ibid.*, No. 97.

7

Administration and Economic Conditions

ADMINISTRATION

IT MAY BE stated at the outset that the administration of this region was in no way different from the system that was in vogue in the other parts. But the local rulers and chieftains adopted some characteristic features of their own which was very necessary for the region. It is in this light that the administrative system is viewed.

The Vaidumbas

We have seen above that this region came under the control of the Vaidumbas in the 8th century. The rise of these Vaidumbas in this area was so abrupt that we have no means of tracing the evolution of administrative system. Their records use the word '*ĕḷuchu*', '*ĕḷuvānṛu*', etc. The Tsadumu inscription of Manujatriṇētra [Palava-mahārāju] describes him as ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-7000 in the following manner : *Rĕnāṇṭi-ĕḷuvĕḷu-ĕḷuchuṇḍi.*[1] Similarly the inscription from Veligallu also describes Gaṇḍatriṇētra śrī-Baiydumba-mahārāju as : *Rĕnāṇḍ-ĕḷuvĕḷum-ĕḷuchuṁ.*[2] This factual description may be well compared with the more sophisticated expressions adopted from Sanskrit like *pṛithivīrājyaṅ-gĕya, pṛithivīrājyañ-cheye* as found in the inscriptions from Kalakaḍa[3] and Rāmanāyanikōṭa[4] (Peddapālem). This expression apparently seems to invest the more dignified symbols of monarchy even in respect of the minor feudatory family like that of the Vaidumbas. Though they could never rise to great heights as a big power on account of the limitation of their resources, they did not fail to catch up with the conventions associated with the royal families. They had their coronations held in as grand a manner as possible. A noteworthy instance of the coronation of Irugeya called also as Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya-mahārāja (*c.* 971-1000 A.D.) as recorded in the stone inscription from Kalakaḍa may be cited. This epigraph states that on the joyous occasion of his coronation (*paṭṭaṁbu gaṭṭi*[*na*]) he exempted the farmers (*kāṁpus*) from payment of taxes including *tivuḷdesaṁ*. While the king could make this gesture towards the farmers, he had to exclude a few major taxes such as *Dogarācha-paṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu*, *Paḍiyĕri- paṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇu*.[5] The Vaiduṁba king was only observing the convention of granting exemption of taxes on the occasion of one's coronation followed by the bigger powers. However, since his own resources were limited as a feudatory power, he could not afford to lose all the income through the major taxes. Irugeya is a later member of this family. Some of his predecessors might have adopted such a practice, which he was following.

Further we find that these Vaiduṁba kings apparently exhibited their supremacy over their subordinates by crowning them as well. The Vaiduṁba king Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāja annointed Gaṇḍara Mutrāju, son of śrī Sajaḷa and grandson of Kalivadējama[6] and Eḷuḷakālavilmer̤e, son of Vāṇakabhāra and grandson of Kalivadējama.[7] These details are referred to in the inscriptions from Mudivēḍu.

The Vaiduṁba kings entrusted the administration of smaller administrative divisions within their territory to several chieftains and officers.

An inscription assignable to 9th century A.D. from Bōḍināyanipalle[8] records that Puṇyakumāra-arasa was ruling Maṅgala-twelve (*Maṅgala baḷi-pannir āḷumān-āḷuttirĕ*) under Bai[du*]ṁbha mahārāja, who has been identified with Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāja, the lord of Pulvari (—Pulchari).

During the rule of Palle-arasa over the nāḍu *i.e.*, Puli-nāḍu, Sāte-arasa of the Vaiduṁba family was ruling over Kāpalle, the findspot of the record. Pōrighaṭesūr̤e, son of Sūraparasa of the Vaiduṁba-kula governing over Muttukūru lost his life in course of a cattle-raid when he fought to secure victory to the ruling king. This information is given in a record from Kāpalle.[9]

We hear from an inscription at Tsadum[10] that the village Sadumbu was ruled by a chief Ḷoṅkuḷāditya while the Vaiduṁba Vīramahārāju ruled the earth. In an inscription from Basinikoṇḍa[11] it is stated that during the reign of Gaṇḍatriṇētra-mahārāja, Sūramār̤aveli was under the rule of one Bāluchchoraṇi.

That some of these belonged to families of noblemen becomes clear from the suffixes indicating their rank, attached to the names of Puṇyakumāṛa-arasa, Sātē-arasa and Pōrighaṭesūr̤e, son of Sūraparasa. From this we may presume that these rulers not only appointed subordinate officials to govern villages like Muttukūru but also associated either princes of the family or their own kith and kin. These feudatories may not be at all of the same rank on account of the very reason that the first ruled over a nāḍu; the second ruled over a minor territorial division and the third over a village. It is possible that there was a three-tier administration represented by these three ranks of rulers with the king at the top.

The existence of the office of *yuvarāja* is indirectly known from the tax name *Dogarāja-paṇṇu*[12] interpreted as the tax levied in order to maintain the office of the *yuvarāja*. It is not unlikely that the *yuvarāja* to whom there is no reference available was also a *sĕnāpati*.

Sĕnāpati was another high ranking officer under the Vaiduṁbas. Vīramahārāju, son of Kaligatriṇētra śrī Śivamāra is described as *sĕnāpati* in two inscriptions from Pullagaṇṭivāripalle[13] (Peddatippasamudram) in Madanapalle taluk and Vandāḍi[14] in Rayachoti taluk.

Source of Income :

So far as the revenue is concerned we learn from a record of Gaṇḍatriṇētra about two taxes mentioned in connection with a grant made in memory of a hero. The two taxes are *birāḍa-āyaṁbu* and *vishaya-suṁka*[15]. The first has been interpreted as a tax on houses. The expression *āyam* seems to indicate that this word stands for a classified list of taxes, the details of which are however not clear. The *vishaya-suṁka* is apparently a tax on goods transported from one place to other within the district collected by the authorities of the district (*vishaya*). The *birāḍa-āyaṁbu* appears to be a cluster of taxes collected in the various localities of the kingdom and as such it may be considered to be a local tax as against the *vishya-suṁka.*

Another inscription of Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya-mahārāju records an interesting instance of the grant of exemption from taxes on farmers (*kāṁpus*) on the occasion of king's coronation. This is quite in keeping with the ancient tradition, but it is significant that the exemption was granted in respect of *chiṟudeṟal* and not in respect of major taxes such a *Dogarācha-paṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu* *Paḍiyĕri-paṇṇu* and *Sandhi-vigrahi-paṇṇu. Chiṟudeṟal* means small (*chiṟu-teṟal*).[16] The corresponding term obtained in Tamil inscription is no doubt *chiṟu-tiṟai* or *chiṟṟāyam* conveying the same idea. The word *tiṟai* meaning 'tribute' may mean in the context of the present record 'taxes'. Therefore this term clearly refers to the cluster of local taxes which can be of any significance only to the local administrative unit. The exemption granted in respect of these small taxes was obviously in the nature of a sacrifice by the king befitting the great occasion of his coronation. The farmers who had to pay these taxes were given this privilege of exemption.

It is obvious that the king could not grant exemption in respect of major taxes such as *Dogarācha-paṇṇu* etc., for the simple reason that those taxes related to the maintenance of important dignitaries and officers serving the king. The tax *Dogarācha-paṇṇu* like *kumāra vṛitti, piḷḷaivari*[17] stand for a tax levied for the maintenance of the office of the *yuvarāja*. The terms *doga*, *kumāra* and *piḷḷai* occurring in the Kannaḍa and Tamil records all stand for *yuva* or prince. *Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu* seems to indicate a levy for maintaining *Paḍevāḷa* meaning 'the commander of the army'. *Paḍiyĕri* is probably derived from *Paḍiyāri* or *Pratihāri* meaning 'a door-keeper'[18] or an officer in-charge of the defence of the royal palace or palace attendant of the king,[19] and hence *Paḍiyĕri-paṇṇu* may denote a tax levied for maintaining the palace attendants. *Sandhi-vigrahi-paṇṇu* is another tax raised for the maintenance of the office of 'peace and war'.[20] The terms *Sandhi* and *Vigraha* indicate the two important functions of keeping 'peace' and 'war' respectively. The word *paṇṇu* is obviously connected with *pannasa* or *pannāya*[21] meaning 'tax' used in later inscriptions.

One of the cluster of taxes coming under *chiṟu-deṟal* is named as *tivuḷ-desa.* It has been suggested that *tivuḷ-desa* is a variant of tiguḷ-dēsa implying a cess connected with Tamils.[22]

The use of the word *vāram* in a Tamil inscription of Kulōttuṅga I from Kalakaḍa, Vayalpad taluk apparently in the sense of the share of produce is interesting as it throws light on the sharing of the produce by the tenants and the proprietors. The inscription records the grant of Murukkēttam, Kuḍi-ēttam and Tirukkāḷatti-ēri by Vaiduṁba-mārāśan Tiḍalīśan as *dĕvadāna* to the deity Pallīśvaram-uḍaiya-mādēva at Kaṟkaḍai in

Kīḷai-Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam and stipulates that one seventh of the share of the produce should be paid obviously to the government. It is probable that the chief retained the proprietorship treating the temple as a tenant receiving only a nominal share as the proprietor. The deity along with the land were given to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭan as *kāṇi*. Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭan became therefore the proprietor of the land on behalf of the temple with the responsibility of administering the six-seventh of the share of the produce in respect of the requirements of the deity, himself and the cultivating tenant.[23]

The Bāṇas :

The administration under the Bāṇas was different in some respects from that of the Vaidumbas. The sovereignty of the Bāṇas over the areas ruled by them is indicated by an expression not met with in the Vaidumba records. An inscription from Vanamaladinne[24] records that Mahābali Bāṇarasa identified with Vijayāditya I is described as *adhipatigaḷ* of Vaḍugavaḷi-12000, and Gaṅga-6000. Another inscription from the same place belonging to the reign of Mahābali Bāṇarasa *i.e.*, Vikramāditya (I) also describes him in a similar way.[25] The Kāpalle record of Mahāvali Bāṇavidyādhara (Vikramāditya I) refers to him as an *adhipatigaḷ* of the same territory.[26] The use of this expression *adhipatigaḷ* is quite in contrast to the expressions *eḷuchu*[27], *eḷuvānṟu* found to be used in Vaidumba records. Both, however, have the same import, the one being in Sanskrit and the other in local language *i.e.*, Telugu.

The appointment of feudatories to govern limited areas in the territories was however, a common feature. The records from Peddavelagaṭūru assignable to *c.* 9-10th century A.D.[28] state that in the reign of Mahāvali Bāṇarasa, who may be identified with Vikramāditya II, one Bāḷasōma-bhaṭārar (or, bhaṭṭarar) administered (*āḷe*) the village.

We get important information about local self-government under the Bāṇas which we do not get from the records of the Vaidumbas. This seems to have a bearing on the general social and economic development of the respective areas under them. The few examples listed below substantiate this point.

Five inscriptions from Guḍimallam record the transactions pertaining to the gifts of land. The first inscription dated in the 49th year (= 844-45 A.D.) of the reign of Pallava Dantivikramavarman refers to the rule of this area by Bāṇa Vijayāditya.[29] It records the gift of land for maintaining a lake by desilting (*kuḷikutti*) it occasionally. The gift is stated to have been made by Kaḷiyamaṅgilan-kiḷār, who is described as a member of the *āḷuṅgaṇam*. The second inscription dated in the 23rd (= 868-69 A.D.) year of Nandivarman III records a gift of land by purchase for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of Paraśurāmēśvara at Tiruvippirambēḍu by Muḷḷiṟkiḷār described as a member of the *āḷuṅgaṇam*.[30] Vikramāditya Māvalivāṇarāyar is stated to be ruling over Vaḍugavaḷi-mēṟku, in which Tiruvippiṟambēḍu was apparently situated. These two instances testify to the existence of the body called *āluṅgaṇam* which is apparently somewhat like a *sabhā* or a committee appointed by the *sabhā* to administer the village. The grants made were of course private transactions. But the existence of this body indicates the high state of development of the society in respect of the local self-government.

The third inscription is very much damaged but it contains a reference to the *sabhā* of Tiruvippiṟambēḍu. The fourth and the fifth inscriptions,[31] dated Śaka 820 (= 898 A.D.) and Śaka 827 (= 905 A.D.) respectively in the reign of Vijayāditya Māvalivāṇarāyar record gifts of gold for food offerings and maintaining lamps. In both the inscriptions, it is stated that the *sabhā* of Tiruvippiṟambēḍu undertook to carry out the objects of the endowment out of the interest accruing from the gold received. Thus the *sabhā* was acting as the trustees of the endowment. In view of the fact that a *sabhā* is referred to in the last two among the five inscriptions, this *āḷuṅgaṇam* might have to be considered as an executive body concerned more with daily administration than with matters of policy, which came under the purview of the *sabhā*.

An inscription assignable to *c.* 10th century from Tiruchchāṉūr, Chandragiri taluk, seems to record the assignment of the right of utilizing the Nandi-ēri to a few individuals in return for their contribution in cash and in kind apparently out of the produce raised by them to provide for worship and offerings to [Tiruviḷa]ṅgōyiṟ-perumāṉaḍigaḷ, Tirumandiraśālaip-perumāṉaḍigaḷ and Tiruvēṅgaḍattup-perumāṉaḍigaḷ.[32] This endowment was probably made by Vijayāditta mentioned in the record, who may be identified with his namesake (*i.e.*, Vijayāditya) among the Bāṇas. The entire transaction appears to have been the subject matter of a *niyōga i.e.*, an order issued by the *ūrār*. The inscription being fragmentary, the other details are lost. The issue of an order by the *ūrār* in respect of this transaction is noteworthy.

We come to know about the revenues of the Bāṇa period, so far as this region is concerned, from some of their records. The tax *kallāṇakkāṇam* mentioned in one of the Bāṇa inscriptions[33] in Tamil from this area is evidently a tax collected locally in cash on every marriage held in the village. *Kāṇam* stands for a certain denomination of coin in gold though its value is not clear. This is one of the earliest references for the name of this tax. Another tax mentioned in the same Bāṇa inscription is *pidānāḻi*. This expression contains two words *pidā* and *nāḻi*. *Pidā* is perhaps a colloquial form of the word *pudā* which is derived from *pudavu* meaning 'door'. *Nāḻi* is well-known as a 'measure'. Therefore this tax was collected from every door *i.e.*, house, at the rate of one *nāḻi*, very probably, of paddy. The inscription which refers to these taxes records the assignment of income from these for the maintenance of a lake.

The Gaṅgas :

The pattern of administration under the Gaṅgas reflects very well the continued efforts to keep the area of Pulināḍu under their control. Attention is drawn to the various governors who ruled Pulināḍu region. As a consequence of the appearance, in Puli-nāḍu, of the collateral line beginning with Pṛithivīpati I, who, dispossessed of his ancestral domains, sought support from the Vaiduṁbas and the Bāṇas that were in power in this border area, this area around Pulināḍu became the nerve centre of conflict.

From about 870 A.D. upto about 915 A.D. almost continuously we get a list of governors appointed by the Gaṅgas over Pulināḍu. We hear from an inscription assignable to 10th century at Bōḍināyanipalle that the first governor of Pulināḍu during the reign of Permāḍi, identified with Pṛithivīpati II, was one Mayimana-Pallavareyar.[34] Another inscription from the same place belonging to Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa identical with the same Gaṅga king and of the same date refers to Pallava Dhavaḷa as a governor.[35] The Vanamaladinne inscription of Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa also attest to his control over Pulināḍu.[36] Vikkiyaṇṇa who ruled over Pulināḍu-sixty is referred to in an inscription from Karshanapalle.[37]

These chiefs are found, in these records setting up the hero-stones (*kalnāḍu*) and making grants of lands to commemorate the dead heroes.

The Noḷaṁbas :

We do not get such information about the administrative set up during the rule of the Noḷaṁbas over the border areas on the west. The available evidence indicate that these Noḷaṁbas duly recognised the services rendered by their subordinates and subjects in the preservation of territorial integrity and suitably honoured them also. Not that this practice was unknown to others; but the Noḷaṁba administration got them recorded and the others did not do so.

An inscription from Karshanapalle in Punganur taluk assignable to 10th century A.D. states that Vīra-Mahēndra (II) crowned (*paṭṭavaṁkaṭṭi*) one Noḷaṁba-gāvuṇḍa, son of Kīrtti-gā[mu]ṇḍa and granted the village Beḷagaṭūru of Pulināṭṭakeṟe as a *koḍage*[38].

Iṟiva Noḷaṁba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa, his son and successor in an inscription from Nelapalle, Punganur taluk, assignable to late 10th century A.D., is stated to have conferred the title *Mummaḍi Gavaṟe Pallavāditya Noḷaṁbaseṭṭi* on a Baḷigāra named Karavayya, son of Rāmēśvaṟaharapallayyaṁ Gavaṟeseṭṭi of Koyatura *i.e.*, Laḍḍigam, the royal insignia (*rāja-chinna*), a horse to ride (*ēṟa kudure*), an umbrella (*koḍe*), armed attendants (*āḷapanṭuvake*), whisk (*kuñcha*), *taḷige*, *kīḷvaṭṭa*, shield (*aḍḍaṇige*), and wet-lands (*gaddige*) and granted to him as a *Vaiśyadatti* the village Koḷatūra in Pulināḍu, renamed Pallavādityapura and after converting into a *nagara*. The king was camping at Venduṟuponne in Paṟuvi-nāḍu while making these grants.[39] Similar royal honours and the titles *Pallavāditya Noḷaṁba-gāvuṇḍa* were bestowed on Basavayya, son of Māgara Bīṟāne-gāvuṇḍa, the servant of Permāḍi of Pulināḍu and the village Nāgekuṇṭe was granted to him by the same king. This is referred to in an inscription of the same period from Māgaṇḍlapalle, Punganur taluk.[40] However these records do not mention the services in recognition of which these honours were bestowed.

We have instances of grants to the dependents etc., being made in recognition of the merit of the deceased. Although such grants were made by the king, often times he had to obtain the approval of the local bodies. Two inscriptions from Bōḍināyanipalle refer to the grant of land made by the *arasu* and the *ūr*. One of them records the death of Baḷdi of Maṅgala in a battle during the reign of Vajjradēva over Pulinādu in Śaka 886 (= 964 A.D.) and the grant of five *koḷa* of paddy field measured by *rājamāna* by the *arasu* (*i.e.*, Vajjradēva) and the *ūr* (Maṅgala).[41] The second inscription refers to the death of Heṅgila Irugiya in a cattle-raid during the rule of the same chief over Pulināḍu and the grant of eighteen *kaḷaṇi* as *kalnāḍu* under a tank on the north at Maṅgala by the *arasu* and the *ūr*.[42] It may be noted that the grants in both the cases cited were made jointly by the local ruler Vajjradēva and the authorities of the village community. The ratification of the grant mutually by both the local ruler and the village community was necessary according to the administrative proceedure.

The Chōḷas :

With the advent of the Chōḷa rule from the last few years of Āditya I, we get more details of administration in this area. The most important feature is that the system of administration by the feudatories was conspicuous by its absence until at least about the middle of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. It was run by the well known hierarchy of the Chōḷa officials like the *daṇḍanāyaka*, the *sēnāpatigaḷ*, the *adhikāri*, and the numerous revenue officers such as *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷanāyagam*, etc. But the evidence regarding this set up is available only from the time of Rājarāja I. Before the times of Rājarāja I, we get little information only about the local administrative units. We get references to most important units *viz.*, *sabhaiyār* and *nagarattār*. The inscription from Toṇḍaimānāḍ dated in the 34th year (= 940-41 A.D.) of the reign of Parāntaka I records the gift of gold by *paḷḷipaḍai* Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita-bhaṭārar entrusted into the hands of *sabhaiyār* and *nagarattār* of Toṇḍaimāṉpērāṟṟūr in Āṟṟūrnāḍu.[43] The facts that both the units belong to the same place and that both receive the gift jointly point to the existence of two areas falling into the respective jurisdiction of the *sabhaiyār* and the *nagarattār*. The former is no doubt an assembly of the representatives of the share-holders of the *brahmadēya* area and the latter is a body of the merchant classes. We do not know however whether the two units functioned jointly in respect of this endowment. It is possible that the *sabhaiyār* attended to the executive aspect of the endowment and the *nagarattār* attended to the proper investment of the capital and the accounting aspect of it.

A slightly later instance of the *sabhaiyār* and *śrīmāhēśvaras* joining together in conferring a land grant on Maṅ[gulagi] *alias* Paraśirāmat-taṭṭāṉ of Tiruviṟperumbēḍu is recorded in an inscription of Rājarāja I, dated in the 2nd regnal year (= 986-87 A.D.) from Guḍimallam.[44] It may be noted that *śrīmāhēśvaras* representing (non-brahmanical) Śaiva devotees and the (brahmanical) *sabhaiyār* were associated in making this gift. Probably the donee was a goldsmith engaged in preparing ornaments for the deity Paraśurāmēśvara of the temple where the inscription is engraved. The *sabhaiyār* were probably required to associate the *māhēśvaras* who are known to be concerned in the administration of the temple. It is therefore possible that the land donated was under the administrative control of the *sabhā*, while the donee was under the administrative control of the authorities of the temple, among whom the *māhēśvaras* were an important entity.

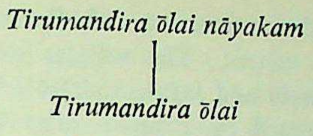
An inscription dated in the 27th year (1011-12 A.D.) of Rājarāja I from Kāḷahasti[45] seems to give some details regarding the arrangement made for receiving the golden plate sent by the king himself through his trusted officer. The inscription is incomplete. Even though the details are lost, the information regarding the list of persons drafted in to deliberate over this transaction is interesting. The people who met in this connection included besides the trusted officer sent by the king, a servant of this officer, a Śiva-brāhmaṇa of the temple, a *karaṇattāṉ* deputed by the *sabhā* for the *nāṭṭār*, the *śrīkāryam* officer of the temple and a group consisting of merchants of Mummuḍichōḷapuram in Āṟṟūr-nāḍu in Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam. The last mentioned group designated herein as *nagarattār* was assisted by a *nagara-karaṇattāṉ*. This gathering appears to be fairly representative of the local administrative units such as the *tānattār* of the temple, the *sabhā* and the *nagarattār*. Though the inter-relationship of these units is not clear, all of them seem to be under the overall control of the *nāṭṭār*. It may be noted that while the trusted officer deputed by the king with the gold plate is called *perundaṇam*, the *śrīkāryam*, officer of the temple is described as a subordinate belonging to the *śiṟudaṇam* of the king. The ranking between *perundaṇam* and *śiṟudaṇam* is quite obvious. They refer to the senior and the junior dignified officers of the king.

The Chārāla plates of Vīrarājēndra dated Śaka 991 (= 1069-70 A.D.) record the grant of Chēṟām *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam to Ṛishīkēśa-bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār hailing from the same place and his associates.[46] In recording this grant this charter delineates a simpler form of procedure unlike in the well-known Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra I. Here the oral order by the king is stated to have been carried out by Guṇanidi-Aruḷmoḻiyār *alias* Mīṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷār (*adikārigaḷ*). Two officers Tōṇamayaṉ Pāpanāśaṉ *alias* Vīraśrīvallabha-Brahmādhirājaṉ and Aruḷmoḻi-Rājēndraśōḷaṉ *alias* Jananātha-Viḻupparaiyaṉ designated as *tirumandira ōlai* were perhaps responsible in committing the order to writing.[47] Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirājaṉ and Śaśibhūshaṇa-paṇḍita or Chandrabhūshaṇa-bhaṭṭa drafted the document. The clauses and schedules regarding tax exemptions and irrigation privileges, etc., that usually occur in Chōḷa grants are conspicuous by their absence here. This however, does not mean that the normal elaborate procedure was not followed in this instance. On the other hand it is more likely that only the draft of this charter was not comprehensive though the usual procedure might have been adopted in practice.

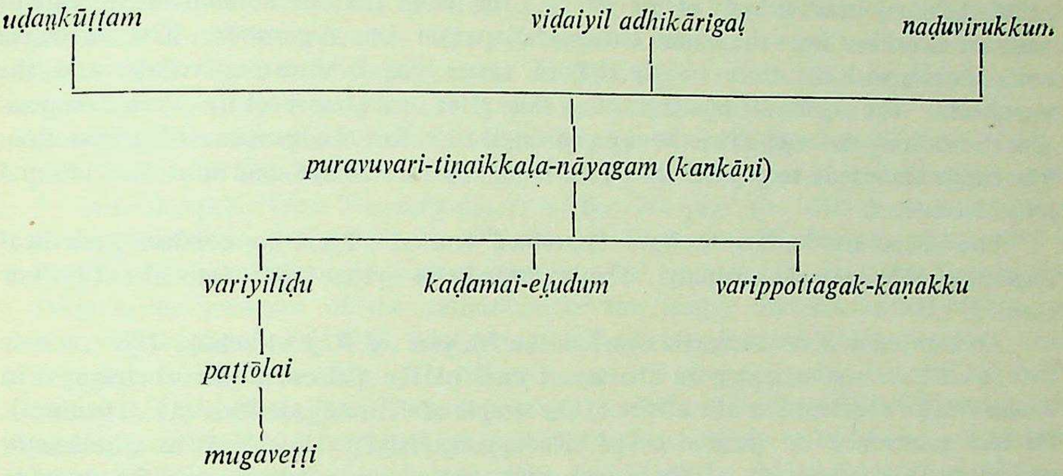
That the elaborate procedure found in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra I was in vogue is evident from an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I from Laḍḍigam.[48] This inscription dated in the 16th year (1085-86 A.D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I records the grant of Mādamaṅgalam (also called Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷanallūr) as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to the deity Mahādēva of Iruṅgōḷīśvaram constructed at Kōyāṟṟūr *alias* Uttamaśōḷapuram by Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ. The oral order of the king in respect of this is said to have been committed to writing by an officer designated as *tirumandira ōlai* and attested to by another officer known as *tirumandira-ōlai-nāyakam*. The next set of officers, some being designated as *viḍaiyil adhikārigaḷ* along with another officer designated as *naḍuvirukkum* are said to have ordered the officers of *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷam i.e.*, land-tax registration department, to have this document, called *kēḻvi* entered into the tax-register called *vari*. The entire procedure detailed in this incomplete inscription yields the following hierarchy of officers of the land revenue department.

While our table of hierarchy agrees mostly with the one found in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[49] and the Larger Leiden plates[50] of Rājēndra I the only major difference lies in the mention of the class of officers called *uḍaṇkūṭṭam*. The term obviously means that the officers of this class were accompanying the king in a body. The term *uḍaṇkūṭṭam* is also found used in the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription of Rājādhirāja II[51] where they are stated to have acted swiftly to instal Rājādhirāja (II) immediately after the death of Rājarāja II which is no doubt a matter of high policy. This class of officers has to be distinguished from the other group called *viḍaiyil adhikārigaḷ* who as the expression indicates were concerned only with the issue of royal documents. *Viḍai* means the release, apparently of the draft of orders.

Kuravasiri śrī Araṅganātha-bhaṭṭar and Kārambicheṭṭu śrī Mādhava-bhaṭṭar figure in this record as *naḍuvirukkum*[52] officers. The *naḍuvirukkum* officers mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates are Kandāḍai Tiruveṇkāḍa-bhaṭṭaṉ and Jananāthan *alias* Rājēndra-



These two were responsible for the issue of the royal order called *kēḷvi.*



śōḷa-Brahmādhirājaṉ. The fact that these *naḍuvirukkum* officers are brāhmaṇas seem to point to their function as members of a judiciary service to advise on the legality of the transaction or to arbitrate in case of dispute. The term *naḍuvirukkum* has been interpreted as liaison.[53] Since there was no need of such a liaison in the case of grant recorded in the cited inscription it is better to understand the term in the way in which it has been done here. There is no difference in respect of the other details.

The name *uḷvari* is met with in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I[54] and in an inscription of Vīrarājēndra.[55] This term refers to the order signed by the officers of the revenue department after entering the transactions in the accounts. By sequence this seems to be the next document after *kēḷvi*, which is the first document committing the king's oral order to writing. This name is not met with in the inscriptions of this period from the southern districts. Another term occurring likewise is *āṇai-āḷ*. Since this word follows the word *viṇṇappam* which begins the *uḷvari* document as found in the second inscription cited above, there is no doubt that *viṇṇappam* and *āṇai-āḷ* correspond to the Sanskrit *vijñapti* and *ājñapti*.

Another inscription dated in the 29th year (= 1098-99 A.D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I from Agastyakoṇḍa[56] records a transaction made by the *nāṭṭār*. The transaction is described as a *samayam* given by the *nāṭṭār* incorporating the transactions under which they bestowed the village Kāvaṇkuṭṭai as a tax-free *dēvadāna* in lieu of forty (*aṉṟāḍu-naṟkāśu*) current good *kāśu* received by them from the temple treasury. The *nāṭṭār* as a group is said to have included brāhmaṇas and veḷḷāḷar. The signatories of the transaction include, besides the above two groups, merchants also. The brāhmaṇas are represented by Chōḷanārāyaṇa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Naṅgili *alias* Anantavikramachōḷachaturvēdi-maṅgalam and Rudrakramavittaṉ of Puṅgaṉūr *alias* Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam and some others. The veḷḷāḷas were apparently represented by Nāgaya-gāmuṇḍaṉ of Śiṟuviḷāṅgāṭṭūr and Jayaṅgoṇḍa[śōḷā*]vēḷāṉ of Kaṟkaṭṭūr.

The merchants were represented by Paṁpaṉ *alias* Uttamachōḷaṉ, a resident of Kōyāṟṟūr *alias* Uttamachōḷapuram. The composition of these signatories indicates clearly that the body called *nāṭṭār* was constituted out of all the three administrative units *viz.*, the administrative body of the *chaturvēdimaṅgalam* which was evidently a *sabhā*, the administrative body of the *ūr i.e.*, the *ūrār* and the administrative body of *nagaram* as evident from the name Uttamachōḷapuram *i.e.*, *nagarattār*. The respective units coincide with the three clearly defined castes *viz.*, brāhmaṇas, veḷḷāḷas and the merchants. The Agastyakoṇḍa inscription thus gives us a picture of the class composition constituting the *nāṭṭār* functioning as a single unit for the purpose of transaction. The *nāṭṭār* undertook to pay the tax on the lands of the village and also the internal levies themselves.

The Chōḷas are known to have appointed trusted officers to conduct periodical inspection of the temple accounts. They extended this system also into the Chittoor district.

An inscription from Tirumala dated in the 7th year of Rājēndrachōḷa (I)[57] records that an *adhikāri* was camping in the court-yard of the palace at Tiruchchugaṉūr in Kuḍavūrnāḍu enquired into the affairs of the temple of Tiruvēṅgaḍadēvar (*i.e.*, Tirumala). He had summoned a person called Kaḍappaṅguḍaiyāṉ described as *śiṟudanattu paṇimagaṉ*, a subordinate of the junior rank, who was administering the revenue accounts (*vagai*) of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu. The enquiry resulted in the transfer of 23 *poṉ* endowed for the purpose of burning lamps from the charge of the *sabhā* of Tirumuṇḍiyam, a *dēvadāna* of the temple to that of the authorities of the temple itself. Thus the *adhikāri* was vested with the powers of supervising the work of the officer-in-charge of the *nāḍu* and the local units under the same.

Apart from this hierarchy of officers discussed above, we come across a few other officers of the revenue department with limited but well-defined local jurisdiction. At the lowest level we meet with the existence of an officer called *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi*, An inscription of Rājādhirāja I dated in the 12th year (= 1029-30 A.D.) from Puṅganūr[58] records the conferment of the accountancy of the village (*ūr-kaṇakka-kāṇi*) upon Āḍavallāṉ, son of Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ of Kāñchi, a *nagara* in Eyiṟ-kōṭṭam, a sub-division of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam by the assembly of Kuṅgaṉūr *alias* Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pulināḍu in Perumbāṇappāḍi in the same *maṇḍalam*.

At the next higher level was functioning the officer designated as *kaṇkāṇi-nāyakam*. While the former, *ūr-kaṇakkaṉ* was appointed by the assembly of Puṅgaṉūr, the latter seems to have been appointed by the *nāṭṭār*. Out of the two records from Kāḷahasti referring to this office, the first record dated in the 12th year (= 1023-24 A.D.) of Rājēndra I refers to the gift of 150 cows to the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-mahādēva by Chaḷukkiyakālakālaṉ, Kāḷappiriyaṉ, the *kaṇkāṇi-nāyakam* of Āṟṟūr-nāḍu.[59] The second inscription dated in the 27th year (=1012 A.D.) of Rājarāja I records that Vaippūr-uḍaiyāṉ Aḍiyaṉ Puyaṅgan, the *kaṇkāṇi* officer of Āṟṟūrnāḍu and other divisions included in it, having enquired of the *upāsakas* of Āṟṟūr-nāḍu about their arrears in ghee and curd to be supplied to the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-mahādēva, falling short of the stipulated amount as per terms of the endowment of 15 cows made by Śōḷavēḷāṉ in the 16th year (=1001 A.D.) of the king

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and the total default in the supply of ghee and curd as per terms of another endowment of five cows, made in the 23rd year (=1008 A.D.), they (the *upāsakas*) seem to have agreed to pay a cash compensation of 24 *kaḷañju* and 2 *mā* towards the unremitted quantities of 15 *kaḷañju* of ghee and 44 *kalam* and 2 *tūṇi* of curd computed from the date of the respective endowments upto the 161st day of the 27th year of the king's reign.[60]

These two officers were empowered to enquire into the endowments made in the various temples including the one at Kāḷahasti for instance in the entire *nāḍu* covered by their jurisdiction. It is clear therefore that they were officers who had the duty of inspection of revenue accounts. The two instances cited above are no doubt related to the temples. But on the analogy of the designation *puravuvari-tiṇaikaḷattu-kaṇkāṇi* in the contemporary Chōḷa inscriptions, it may be inferred that these officers also were concerned with the revenue administration within the *nāḍu* of which the temple formed only a part. We have in Śōḷakulakāla-mūvēndavēḷāṉ, an officer-in-charge of excise (*suṅgam-uḍaiya*).

An inscription from Tirumala dated in the 7th year (= 1018-19 A.D.) of the reign of Kōpātrakēsari (mistake for *Parakēsari*) Rājēndra (I) records that *Adhikāri* Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ made an enquiry into the endowments made for Tiruvēṅgaḍadēvar in the presence of the authorities of the temple and Kaḍappaṅguḍaiyāṉ, an officer of the *śiṟudanam* rank, who was attending to the duties of the assessment (*vagai*) in respect of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu. The officer is stated to have camped in the shed before the palace at Tiruchchugaṉūr. It was found by the *adhikāri* that the *sabhā* of Tirumuṇḍiyam were to provide for 24 perpetual lamps including one lamp to be burnt out of camphor. The *adhikāri* advised the temple authorities to take over the endowment of 23 *poṉ* in respect of these lamps, part of which was invested at Tiruchchugaṉūr and part at the temple treasury, since the *sabhā* could no longer maintain the endowment.[61] This inscription indicates the subordinate position of the officer who seems to have functioned under the *adhikāri*. This officer who was assessing the revenue of the *nāḍu* was evidently in a position to attest to the endowments created in the temple and this explains his presence in the course of the enquiry. Tiruchchugaṉūr and Tirupati were situated in the Kuḍavūr-nāḍu which was in his charge. His rank is also indicated by the word *śiṟudanam*.

An inscription in Kannaḍa from Munagamakulapalle, Madanapalle taluk is dated in the 31st year (1048-49 A.D.) of Rājādhirāja I. It is stated that Rājādhirāja-Brahmādhirāja was ruling over Mahārājavāḍi-7000 country. It refers to the death of Mādabbe, wife of Sōvayyu *alias Rājēndrachōḷadēsaraṭṭaguḍi*, son of Kommayyu-raṭṭaguḍi.[62] This word *raṭṭaguḍi* is met with in many records of the northern districts *viz.*, Cuddapah (for *e.g.*, Veldurti inscription of Erikal-Muturāja Puṇyakumāra; Rāmēśwaram Pillar inscription of Puṇyakumāra Chōḷa-mahārāja, 5th year-*c.* 7th century A.D., Chilamakūru inscription of Vikramāditya Chōḷa-mahārāja — *c.* 8th century A.D.).[63] This seems to stand for the designation of an office which the person held. It is made up of two components *raṭṭa* and *kuḍi* which became *raṭṭaguḍi* as the rules of Telugu grammar would require. This apparently means a tenant or lease holder under the *raṭṭa*, which may be in turn derived from *rāshṭra*. Therefore, it is possible that the persons bearing this title were cultivating or proprietory tenants in the lands of the country. The references to this term in the Nellore inscriptions seem to indicate that *raṭṭaguḍi* gradually transformed into *raṭṭi* and the modern *reḍḍi*.

The terms *raṭṭōḍi* and *raṭṭaguḍi* which are variants indicating the same office are met with in the inscriptions of 10th century A.D. from Eguva Abbavaram in Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah district,[64] from Kalakaḍa, a village in the Vayalpad taluk of Chittoor district[65] and from Mālepāḍu.[66] In the Vaiduṁba inscription of Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya-mahārāju, Kariyakanṭi Vaiduṁba Raṭṭoḍi and Pichchali (The village Pichchali may be identified with Pichchalivāṇḍlapalle in Madanapalle taluk) Vaiduṁba-Raṭṭaguḍi are mentioned as the recipients of the gift, besides others, made by the king on the occasion of his coronation.

Source of Income

It is well-known that no administration can be conducted without the means which justifies the collection of taxes. The administrative set up obtained in this area upto this period was examined above. The source of income that made this set-up to work effectively is described below, on the basis of the few Chōḷa records of this period.

An inscription from Laḍḍigam, Punganur taluk dated in the 16th year (1085-86 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga I records the grant of Mādamaṅgalam including the income from taxes by Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ to the deity Iruṅgōḷīśvaramuḍaiya-mahādēva at Kōyāṟṟūr *alias* Uttamachōḷapuram in Pulināḍu.[67] The taxes are listed under the two broad headings of *kīḻirai-pāṭṭam* and *antarāyam*. *Kīḻiṟai-pāṭṭam* includes taxes such as *ūrkkaḻañju*, *kumara-kachchāṇam*, *vaṇṇārapāṟai*, *mīṉpāṭṭam* and *taṭṭārpāṭṭam*. *Kīḻiṟai-pāṭṭam* seems to refer to a professional tax collected from the lower classes. The other professional taxes are *vaṇṇārapāṟai*, *taṭṭārpāṭṭam* collected respectively from the 'washermen', and 'workers on metals'. The nature of *ūrkkaḻañju* and *kumara-kachchāṇam* is no clear. But the words *kaḻañju* and *kachchāṇam* seem to have something to do with gold or gold coin. *Kachchāṇam* is the corresponding form of *gadyāṇa*. Under the other classification of *antarāyam* the following taxes are included :

māḍaikkūli, daśavandam, kālaḷavukūli, śiṟuśuṅgam, āṭṭupāṭṭam and *vēlikkāśu.*

The expression *antarāyam* probably implies the income from taxes to be used for internal (*antaḥ*) administration benefitting the people of the village.

The tax *māḍaikkūli* mentioned in the record of Kulōttuṅga I denotes the cost collected for conversion of metal into coins. Another tax *daśavandam* seem to indicate one-tenth share of the produce from land. In most of the cases the incidence of the tax is related to the benefit that the land gets from irrigation arranged by the local government. The tax *kāl-aḷavu-kūli* was collected on the maintenance of measures by capacity. Yet another tax mentioned in this record is *śiṟu-suṅgam* which means 'minor tolls'. Besides the above four taxes, the *antarāyam* includes two others *viz.*, *āṭṭu-pāṭṭam* and *vēlikkāśu*. *Āṭṭupāṭṭam* is a professional-tax collected from the shepherd. The tax, *vēlikkāśu* was collected from the proprietor at the rate of one *kāśu* for every *vēli* of land, probably for laying the boundaries (*vēli*) of fields in the course of surveying. Except *daśavandam* all the other taxes mentioned above are evidently collected in cash.

Another inscription of Kulōttuṅga I from Agastyakoṇḍa, Punganur taluk dated in the 29th year (= 1098-99 A.D.) of his reign records the grant of income from taxes from the lands in a *dēvadāna* village Kāvaṇkuṭṭai in Pulināḍu by the *nāṭṭār* for the (*tiruchenn-aḍai*) worship and food offerings to the god Tiruvagattīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva.[68] The *antarāyam* mentioned in this record includes taxes like *iṟai* on *maṉai* (house), on *māḍu i.e.*, cattle, *taṟiirai*, and *taṭṭārpāṭṭam*. Except the *taṭṭārpāṭṭam*, which is explained above, the other three taxes *viz*., *maṉaikku-māṭṭukku-iṟai* and *taṟi-iṟai* are taxes collected respectively, from the 'house owners', 'cattle owners' and 'weavers'. It may be noticed that *taṭṭārpāṭṭam* is included in an earlier inscription under the classification of *kīḻiṟai-pāṭṭam* and under the classification of *antarāyam* in a later inscription. This apparently denotes that these two classifications are not mutually exclusive. It is therefore possible that a professional tax may form part of internal revenues and the specification of the nature of the tax reflects evidently on the classification.

A record from Yōgimallavaram, Puttur taluk, dated in 7th year in the reign of Rājarāja III (= 1222-23 A.D.) records the grant of land, irrigated by Nārāyaṇaputtēri excavated for the merit of Nārāyaṇappiḷḷai, along with the income from *kaḍamai, āyam* and *poṟkaḍamai* and minor taxes (*śilvari*) like *pāḍikāval, veṭṭi, sārigai-koḷvari*, for the midnight and morning services to god Tippalādīśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyanār in Tiruchchukaṉūr in Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu in Tiruvēṅgaḍakōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam, by Pokkaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍiyataraiyar, son of Parasamaiya-kōḷariyāṇḍār for the merit of his nephew (*marumagaṉ*) Nārāyaṇappiḷḷai.[69]

The classification of *śilvari* including *pāḍikāval, veṭṭi* and *sārigai-koḷvari* indicate that these are locally collected levies as against *kaḍamai, āyam* and *poṟkaḍamai* which probably formed part of the general revenues.

Two inscriptions both dated in the 8th (= 1223-34 A.D.) year in the reign of Rājarāja III from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk record the grant of lands by the Yādavarāya chief Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvaṉ I, who assumed the title *taniniṉṟuveṉṟa*.[70] One of these two inscriptions record the grant of land including the income from taxes as *dēvadāna* in Pālaichchūr in Perumpūṇḍi-nāḍu to the deity Tirukkāḷattti-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār by the chief. The taxes thus granted are given under the two broad classifications of *nellāyam* and *poṉṉāyam*. These two classifications are self-evident as standing for taxes collected in kind and in cash. The taxes in kind to be given in paddy include *pāḍikāval, sārigai* (tax on transport or caravan), *veṭṭivari, koḷvari, vēṇḍukōl, appuvari, kaṇakkappēṟu* and *poṟṟumai*. The taxes to be paid in cash include *māḍai-kāṇikkai, paṭṭippoṉ, mērāḻipaṟai-iṟai, adikārappoṉ, puḷuguvari* and *muḷḷiḍi*.

Apart from these two lists the inscription enumerates without indicating the classification a few taxes such as *tiṅgaḷ-ney* (ghee collected monthly), *chekku-kaḍamai* (cess on oil mills), *paṭṭitteṇḍa*[*m**], *kuṟṟañcheydāraik-koḷḷum-deṇḍam* (fines respectively on cattle-pound and on offenders) and a few other taxes.

The Yādavarāyas

With the emergence of the Yādavarāyas who ruled over this area upto the beginning of the Vijayanagara control, the picture changes.

The Yādavarāya chiefs not only made grants of land etc., to the temples but also exempted from taxes on lands endowed by private individuals, after receiving the amount in cash from the latter, so as to enable the temple institutions to enjoy such gifts in full.

An inscription of Rājādhirāja II dated in the 11th year (= 1177 A.D.) from Kāḷahasti records the grant of the village Kāripaḷḷi in Karupāṟṟu-nāḍu which is stated to have been the chief's *kāṇi*, purchased by Guṇamalai-uḍaiyāṉ Āṭkoṇḍāṉ Gaṅgāi-koṇḍāṉ Pottappichchōḻaṉ cf Guṇamalaippāḍi, for feeding the *dēsāntris* who came to worship the deity Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār. This land was purchased by the donor from Narasiṅgaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ *alias* Rājādhirāja Yādavarāyaṉ for 100 *māḍai* and 2 *puduk-kāśu*. The Yādavarāya chief made the village granted free from taxes.[71]

It is obvious that the concurrence of the *sabhā* was obtained by the chief in granting the exemption from land-tax. The following references in the inscriptions from Chittoor district give us an idea of the authority exercised by the Yādavarāya chief by way of exempting taxes for the villages granted to the temples by himself.

A record from Kāḷahasti dated in the 30th year (= 1207-08 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III refers to the gift of lands in Kūṟṟuppūṇḍi in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam to the deity of Kāḷahastīśvara temple to provide for food offerings and to construct a chariot for the processional deity by Rājamalladēva *alias* Yādavarāya. This chief is also stated to have paid the value of the lands and the taxes on them and the *nāṭṭār* made them tax-free.[72]

Another inscription from Yōgimallavaram dated in the 3rd year (= 1180-81 A.D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III records the remission of income from taxes like *paṭṭi-kāśu* from Muññaippūṇḍi, a *dēvadāna* by the Yādavarāya chief Nārasiṅgadēva for 2 perpetual lamps for the god Tippalādīśvaram-udaiya-mahādēva of Tiruchchugaṉūr in Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam.[73]

Another Yādavarāya chief Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya is mentioned in an inscription from Kāḷahasti dated in the 15th year of Rājarāja III (=1230-31 A.D.) to have granted the village Peṇṇayaṇpaṭṭu in Perumpūṇḍi-nāḍu inclusive of all taxes at the request of Śūrappanāyakkaṉ, a *veḷḷāḷā* of Viṇṇamālai in Kīḻaipaṭṭayanāḍu, for feeding the *śrīmāhēśvaras* in the *maṭha* constructed on the hill in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār.[74]

A record from Tirumala dated in the 19th year (=1234-35 A.D.) of this king refers to an order of this chief to the *sthānattār* of the temple and records the grant of exemption from tax on *dēvadāna* lands at Kuḍavūr to provide for food offerings and other services to god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ.[75] In an inscription from Kāḷahasti, his son Siṅgappiḷḷai also called Vīrarākshasa-Yādavarājan is stated to have made a grant of 2001 *kuḷi* of land as *sarvamānya iṟaiyili* for *tirumandira-pōnagam* to the deity Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār in the 15th year (=1192-93 A.D.) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III.[76]

It is known from the inscriptions from Guḍimallam that the chief Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya was assisted by his ministers (*pradhāni*) in the administration of the country. One of them was Kaḍuvē[li] vishaiya *sēnāpati* Sūrappōttan *alias* Aṅgarāyan mentioned in the 14th year (=1229-30 A.D.) of Rājarāja III.[77] Another *pradhāni* was Kāḍap[ō]yan-Eṟiyappōttan *alias* Adigaimān referred to in the 16th year (=1231-32 A.D.) of the same king.[78]

An inscription from Yōgimallavaram dated in the 9th year of the reign of Rājarāja III (=1224-25 A.D.) mentions Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva *alias* Yādavarāya as the ruler of the nāḍu *i.e.*, Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu (*i*[*ṉ-n*]*āḍu-uḍaiya*).[79] It records that the chief Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva, the *śrīmāhēśvaras* and the *sthānattār* conducted an enquiry held in Tirukkaṇṇappadēvan-tirukkāvaṇam, into a complaint made by *sthānattār* of the temple of god Pippalādīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva in Tiruchchukaṉūr, a *brahmadēya* in Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu in Perumbāṇappāḍi-Tiruvēṅgāḍak-kōṭṭam, against the *sabhā* of the same place that the latter failed to carry out the provisions of an endowment of 26-1/4 *kaḻañju* for services and offerings during Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa to god Pippalādīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva, made by Namban Kūttāḍi *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-Brahmārāyaṉ of Aruvētōvai kōṭ (?), a *brahmadhēya* in Nenmali-nāḍu in Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu in Śōḻamaṇḍalam on the 80th day of the 23rd regnal year of Rājarāja I, having received the amount of the endowment from the donor. As a result of this enquiry by the chief of this *nāḍu* (*i*[*n-n*] *āḍu-uḍaiya*), the *sabhā* was directed to pay the 26-1/4 *kaḻañju* into the temple treasury.

It is evident from this that the Yādavarāya chiefs had the powers to enquire into the conduct of the local self-government institutions such as the *sabhā*, *ūr* etc., besides himself exercising the powers of the same institution.

An inscription from Tirumala temple dated in the 40th year (=1304-05 A.D.) of Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya records an order (*tirumugam*) issued by this chief.[80] It states that since the central shrine (*Kōyil-āḻvār*) was to be rebuilt the inscriptions on the shrine should be re-engraved on the exit gate (*puṟa-vāyil*) along the northern wall of the first *prākāra*. Thanks to the interest taken by the chief in preserving the earlier records which recalls to our mind the classic instance of Sembiyaṉ-mahādēvi, the queen of the early Chōḷa king Gaṇḍarāditya, who got re-engraved old records engraved on stray stones, on the walls of the temples newly built of stone. This speaks very well of the enlightened interest of the chief in preserving old records.

Out of the two records one dated in the 8th + 1st *i.e.*, 9th regnal year of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya (acc. after 1315 A.D.), who succeeded Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya II records the grant of the village Poṅgaḷūr and refers to the exemption of taxes on it. This record agrees in all details with the following record except in respect of the name Rēchchaya, another Hoysaḷa general who served Nārasiṁha III[81].

Another record registers the grant of poṅgaḷur *alias* Siṅgaṇanallūr in Illattūr-nāḍu by Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya in order to enable Immaḍi Rāhuttarāyaṉ Siṅgaya-daṇṇāyakaṉ to arrange for the institution of a festival in the month of Āḍi and a special service called *Sitakaragaṇḍaṉ sandhi* for the deity Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ and for feeding the *śrīvaishṇavas* in the *Sitakaragaṇḍaṉ maṭha*.[82]

It is significant that in spite of the political influence which was possibly exercised by the powerful Hoysaḷa general Siṅgaya-deṇṇāyakar, the chief had the authority to issue order pertaining to the exemption from taxes noticed above.

Source of Income

The source of income during the period of Yādavarāyas is known from their inscriptions discussed below.

The inscriptions of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya dated respectively in the 9th and 12th years[83] of his reign record the grants of *dēvadāna* villages as *sarvamānya i.e.*, an endowment made free of all encumbrances which are elaborately listed. Between the two inscriptions the lists show only very little difference. Otherwise they are identical. In the former inscription some classifications, with regard to taxes, not mutually exclusive are given. Taxes such as *poṉvari*, etc. are put under taxes collected in cash probably in gold and are brought under *poṉvargam*. The expression *vargam* perhaps implies other taxes such as *kāśu*, *vēlikkāśu*, *kumara-kachchāṇam* etc., though not enumerated in the inscription. Under *dhānyavargam* are included *kaḍamai* and *āyam* which are the most important items received in kind under land revenue. Another classification obtained in these inscriptions is *puṟakkalanai*,[84] under which are brought the taxes collected per shop, of all classes of merchants such as *cheṭṭigaḷ* (general merchants), *vāṇigar*, *śēṇiy-*

aṅgāḍiyār, *teruvil-aṅgāḍiyār*, tax on four classes of looms such as *achchut-tar̤i*, *śēṇiyar-tar̤i*, *śāliyat-tar̤i*, *par̤ait-tar̤i* and cess on oil-mills. Another class of taxes including *ērimīn̤-pāṭṭam*, *kōmur̤r̤ivapēr̤u*, etc., is brought under the group called *amañji* perhaps standing for occasional dues. Another group of taxes for which the classification is not indicated includes contributory or conventional collections such as *vaḻinaḍai kāṇikkai*, *tiruttāyār kāṇikkai*, *tirumuruganār kāṇikkai* etc. The last two are apparently collections made in the name of famous local deities such as Tiruttāyār (Alarmēlumaṅgai) of Tirupati and Muruganār (Subrahmaṇya) of Tiruttaṇi. Apart from these, the taxes called *Pāṇḍivari* and *Vallāḷadēvar-vari* are apparently taxes collected in the name of the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas, who are known to have marched into this area during the reign of Yādavarāya chief. Lest the list may not appear exhaustive, the former inscription[85] ends with the statement that the taxes include the old ones as well as the new ones that may be stipulated by orders from the palace (*vāśal*) officers of the chieftain.

The Telugu-Chōḍas

An inscription from Avilāla, Chandragiri taluk dated in the 18th year of the reign of Vijayagaṇḍagōpala records that the *śrīmāhēśvaras* of the Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-nāyaṇār temple being informed of the *Śivaliṅgachalana*, of Kavilīśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyaṇār by the *nāṭṭār*, who convened an assembly at Tiruk-Kaṇṇappadēvar *tirukkāvaṇam* and reconsecrated the *liṅga* with *sattimugam*, *tirumugam* and *sādhanam*, etc.[86]

This inscription provides an instance serving as a link at the higher level between the authorities of the Kavilēśvara temple at Avilāli and the *māhēśvaras* of Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti. The convening of the assembly by the *nāṭṭār* at Kāḷahasti also reflects the interest shown by the bigger temple of Kāḷahasti in the affairs of a less important or poorer temple at Avilāli.

The Vijayanagara

An inscription from Eḍūru, Punganur taluk of Kaṁpaṇa II dated in Śaka 1282 (=1360 A.D.) records a grant as *sarvamānya* of the old *dēvadāna* lands of the temple, the *śīrmai* which includes Āṇḍārkuṭṭai, Narasiṅgaṅkir̤ai and the various taxes accruing from the *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* of the temple, under the orders (*nirupa*) of *mahāpradhāni* Sōmappa-uḍaiyar and under the oral instructions (*chor̤paḍi*) of the treasurer (*bhaṇḍāri*) Viṭṭappar for the offerings (*pātrabhōga*) and festivals to the deity Vaḷaittaḻumba-nāyaṇār at Viḍaiyūr which had fallen into disuse formerly for fifty years, by Viruppaṇaṇ and Nāgappar, the *adhikāris* of Pulināḍu and Māyaṇaṇ, the palace accountant (*aramaṇai-kaṇakku*).[87]

Another inscription of this king from Nallūrupalle, from the same taluk records the grant of lands in Nallūr inclusive of all taxes on them by the *nāṭṭār* of various *nāḍus* and *adhikāri* Viruppaṇar under the orders of Sōmappa-uḍaiyar, the *mahāpradhāni* of the royal palace and who is described as an accomplished musician (*saṅgīta sāhityār̤ṇa*[*va*] *gānaparamamāyēśvaraṇ*) and the treasurer Viṭṭappar, to the deity Agastyanātha, for the merit of the king.[88]

Yet another inscription referring to the orders issued by these two officers of Kaṁpaṇa II is from Kurmāyi, Palmaner taluk, dated in Kali·4452, Śaka 1283 corresponding to 1361 A.D. It records the grant of taxes as *mānyam* for providing daily a flower garland (*tirumālai*) and a perpetual lamp to the deity [Edir]koṇḍaperumāḷ of Kuṟumāvi in Pulināḍu by Imayadēvar (read as 'Meyadēvar' in the *Annual Report*), the tax-officer (*suṅga-adhikāri*) of Pulināḍu.[89]

The three instances discussed above point to the existence of a hierarchy of officers not detailed so far. At the top of this hierarchy, we find the *mahāpradhāni* issuing the orders (*nirupa*) obviously from the capital. It should be noted that this *nirupa* pertains to the exemption from taxes on the lands specified in the respective inscriptions. It is obvious that the exemption intended to be granted may cut into the royal revenues accruing from the land. Hence we find that this *nirupa* reaches down to the local authorities such as the *adhikārigaḷ* of the particular *nāḍu* or *nāṭṭavar* through the *bhaṇḍāri*. This word *bhaṇḍāri* implies the functions of collecting the revenues on behalf of the king. In the execution of this order some officers are involved among whom the persence of *aramaṇai-kaṇakku* may be noted. This office apparently stands for that of an accountant, who has to maintain an account of the receipt and exemptions recorded in all the transactions pertaining to the royal revenues. Thus we find that the *mahāpradhāni*, the *bhaṇḍāri* and the *aramaṇai-kaṇakku* were charged with ordering and recording the adjustments made with reference to the revenues that go into the royal treasury. These three represent the hierarchy of the revenue administration in the descending order.

While these three officers represented the central government, the local administrations was still in the hands of the various units called *adhikārigaḷ*, *nāṭṭār* etc.

The presence of a *suṅga-adhikāri* who is apparently concerned with the revenues from taxes such as tolls, export, import, etc.[90] may also be noted.

Source of Income

The above records give us also an idea about the source of income during the reign of Kaṁpaṇa II. The Nallūrupallé inscription noticed above records the grant of wet and dry lands in the village Nallūr inclusive of income from several taxes such as *mērpoṉ suṅgam*, *kaṭṭina*-[*kaḍaḷi*], *Uṟirukkai*, *āḍu-tiṟai*, *makka* [*ḷ*]-*tiṟai*, *paśāna-tiṟai* etc.

We come to know from another record from Kurmāyi, of the income from taxes *mēlvaṭṭai* and *kīḻvaṭṭai* as *mānya* to the deity [Edir]koṇḍaperumāḷ of Kuṟumāvi in Pulināḍu for providing garland and perpetual lamp. The above endowment was made in Kali 4452 and Śaka 1283 (=1361 A.D.) the date of the record from Kurmāyi in Palmaner taluk.[91]

Since the grant of income *mēlvaṭṭai* and *kīḻvaṭṭai* has attracted the involvement of the excise officer in transaction, it is possible that these two tax terms stand for the collections made on the articles of merchandise that pass through the village implying the actual quantities of supply and the actual quantities of disposal. The terms *mēl* and *kīḻ* may stand respectively for the incoming and out-going articles. This seems to be comparable to *ēṟu-sāttu* and *iṟaṅgu-sāttu* mentioned in a record of Rājarāja III, dated in his 17th year (=1232-33 A.D.) from Nārāyaṇavanam.[92]

An inscription of Harihara II from Mudivēḍu, Madanapalle taluk refers to the gift of lands made to the deities Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, Mallikārjuna, Bhairava and to the brāhmaṇas, Raṁganātha and [Rā]māvojhalu by Tippi-seṭṭi and Timāya, son and daughter respectively of Tippiseṭṭi to whom the *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Mōṭṭa Dōrapa-nāyaka had given certain lands under the tank at Ballegānacheṟuvu in Maṅgumali-sthaḷa, in Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa which was under the administration of *mahāpradhāna* Irugappa-[da*]ṇḍa-nāyaka. The place Ballegānacheṟuvu was under the control of this *mahānāyaṅkāchārya.*[93]

An inscription from Taṁbaḷḷapalle, Madanapalle taluk belonging to the reign of Dēvarāya I and dated Śaka 1328, records that Siṅgari-nāyaka, son of *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Kāmu Dōrappa-nāyaka and Bujjava had the shrine of Vīrabhadra constructed and a *raṅga-maṇḍapa* built for it in the temple of Mallikārjuna of Chandragiri and granted lands for a flower garden, cows and cash endowment for offerings to the deities for the merit of the Rāya and the members of his own family. The donor is stated to have been a true servant *(nijabṛityuṁḍu)* of Antappa-daṇṇāyaka and Narasiṁhadēva-voḍeya, the ministers *(mahāpradhānulu)* of Dēvarāya.[94]

Another inscription from the same place also of the same date, records the gift of cows, land by purchase for three flower garden, a lamp, a disk bell etc., to the deity Mallikārjuna of Chandragiri by Peda Laki-nāyiḍu, Pina-Avubaḷināyiḍu and Bālagōpīnāyiḍu, sons of *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Kāmu Dōrapa-nayaka, true servant of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Dēvarāya.[95]

Source of Income

The source of revenue of the Sāḷuva period in this region as indicated by the records of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, is described below.

One of the three inscriptions of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha from Tirumala dated Śaka 1395 (= 1473 A.D.) records an undertaking by the *sthānattār* in Tirumala given to Dhōnakaṇḍi Śiṅgamunāyakkar, to provide for the food offerings for the god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṟ, from the income from taxes like *kār*, *kōḍai*, *kaḍamai* and *poṉvari* from the 215 *kuḻi* of wet lands in the village Ālipuram granted by the latter.[96] The other records of this king from Tirumala respectively mention the grant of income from similar taxes from the lands and the channel.[97] The four terms *kār*, *kōḍai*, *kaḍamai* and *poṉvari* are related undoubtedly to the proprietor's (*mēlvāram*) share of the crop of the rainy season, *kār*, and the share of the crop in the summer-season, (*kōḍai*), general land-tax due to the government (*kaḍamai*) and sundry collections made in cash (*poṉvari*). The first two are not tax terms. The latter two terms *kaḍamai* and *poṉvari* represent the two broad classifications of (1) the tax on land and (2) incidental taxes.

Another inscription from Tirumala dated Śaka 1417 (=1495 A.D.) records the assignment of the responsibility of looking into the affairs connected with the preparation and preservation of gold and silver jewels and accessories of the deities Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ and Gōvindarājaṉ to the famous Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyaṅgār, the disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷajīyar by Sāḷuva Immaḍi Narasiṁharāyar. The capital required for this is said to have been accumulated from the savings out of the income from specified endowments after spending according to stipulated terms as follows :

1. Income of 1000 *paṇam* from sale of the share of offerings due to the donor, wherein the offerings were provided for a special worship by the king,
2. A similar savings from the income from Narasiṁharāyapuram collected under heads of :

    (a) *vāśal-vari*, *taṟikkaḍamai* and *pēṟkaḍamai*,

(b) *kollaipponvari*, and
(c) *śandai*, *magamai* and *kuttagai*.

3. Again 1000 *paṇam* from various villages endowed by the king and improved by Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyaṅgār by augmenting the irrigation works.[98]

The Kammapalle inscription of Kṛishṇarāya is dated Śaka 1446 (current) (= 1523 A.D.) and mentions an order (*rāyasam*) issued to Bommireḍḍi Tippana by *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Komāra Vōbuḷināyini-Tippi-nāyaka recording a gift of land in Madanapalli (also called Madanapalya, Madunapalle etc.) in Basavanikoṇḍa-sīma, which he held as *nāyaṅkara* from the king.[99]

In the reign of Achyutarāya, Penugoṇḍa-mārjavāḍi-sīma is stated to have been obtained by *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Kaṁbhaṁ Tiṁmānāyani Veṅkaṭādri-nāyaka as *nāyaṅkara* from the king. A record from Kōsuvāripalle, Madanapalle taluk records the gift of a *sarvamānya* village with all taxes on them *i.e.*, Goḍugubba in Kōsuvāripallisthaḷam in Vāvilipāṭi-chāvaḍi in Penugoṇḍa-mārjavāḍi-sīma, as *ēka-bhōga* to god Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of Kōsuvāripalle by Kaṁbhaṁ Tiṁmānāyani Veṅkaṭādri-nāyaka.[100]

The expression *nāyakatana* mentioned in a Kannaḍa record from Tirumalareḍḍipalle, Punganur taluk is the same as *nāyaṅkara* of the Telugu inscriptions. It is dated in Śaka 14[65] (for Śaka 1462, in which year Śārvari falls) 8 *koḷaga* of land at Cham[mūr] by *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Timmarāja, son of Viruparāja, who held the *nāyakatana* of the village, to a certain Mācha Ma[lu]ga, son at Gōlapāpa, for the daily supply of water to a watershed maintained by him at the fair in Kadiri.[101]

The instances cited above make it clear that the office of *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* is lower in rank to the *mahāpradhāna*. The word obviously stands for a great feudal lord. The occurrence of the word *āchārya* in this expression cannot however be explained. In the two instances cited above, the *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* is described as the true servant (*nijabhṛitya*) of the *mahāpradhāni* and the king respectively. It is possible that he owed his position to the king, but he was subject to the authority of *mahāpradhāna*. This office carried with it the right of ruling over an area granted to the incumbent as *nāyakatana* or *nāyaṅkara* by the king.

By virtue of holding this *nāyaṅkara*, the *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* acquires the right of granting lands within his *nāyaṅkara* more often free from taxes. In one instance, however, we find that Sāḷuva Periya Ōbaḷa-nāyaka Rāma-nāyakar on whom the office of *mahānāyaṅkāckārya* was bestowed, got a written order (*rāyasam koṇḍuvandu*) from the emperor,[102] in connection with the grant of Kaḍalūr in Tirukuḍavūr-nāḍu. A comparison of the rights and privileges of this office with that of the *bhaṇḍāri* discussed in the previous section makes it clear that *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* was an officer of higher rank in-charge of a fief granted directly to him by the king, while the *bhaṇḍāri* was a mere executive officer. However, we cannot say whether in every case of a *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* there was also a *bhaṇḍāri* or *vice versa*.

One of the instances discussed above points to the fact that a *daṇḍanāyaka* which designation implies military functions held also the office of *mahāpradhāna* implying civil functions. Persons of some note also like Sōmappa-uḍaiya and Narasiṅgavoḍeya held the office of *mahāpradhāna*. The suffix 'voḍeya' seems to occur as a designation in the case of such non-military persons when they hold that high office.

An inscription from Peddavelagaṭūru, Punganur taluk, belonging to the reign of Bukka II, is dated Śaka 1327 (= 1404 A.D.) and records the grant of lands as *sarvamānya* in Hiriya-[Ve]ḷagaṭūru, in Hulināḍu of Muḷuvāya-rājya by the people (*pra*[*ja*]*gaḷu*) for the merit of Lakhaya-nāyaka, son of Mupeya-nāyaka, and the officer looking after the palace affairs (*bāgila-pradhāni*) of Bommaṁṇa-oḍeya, son of Bokarāya-oḍeya, who is described as the *mahāpradhāna* of Harihara II.[103]

The designation *bāgila pradhāni* is evidently the same as the Tamil *vāśal pradhāni*. The word *bāgil* or *vāśal* no doubt means the 'gate' of the palace. The fact that *bāgila pradhāni* is of a lesser rank than *mahāpradhāni*, as is clear from the instance cited above, seems to indicate that the office of *vāśal pradhāni* may not be so low as to be reduced to the position of a gate or door-keeper. The *vāśal* was very possibly symbolic of the palace and as such this office may be considered to be one involving the control of the entire palace administration.

Of the two inscriptions from Taṁbaḷḷapalle, Madanapalle taluk, except for the date, the other details agree. These two records of Dēvarāya I are dated respectively[104] Śaka 1327 (= 1405 A.D.). The above inscription records that on the representation and production of documentary evidence by the temple priests, the king confirmed the grant of the village Taṁmaḍiyahaḷi and the income of 25 *honnu* from the *kāṇika* derived from the Śivarātri festivals and was being paid till then to the palace, for the *amṛitapaḍi* service of the deity as in vogue in the days of Kaṁpaṁṇoḍeya, Bukaṁṇoḍeya (the name of this prince is not mentioned in the latter record) and Chikkoḍeya to Mayilappa. The order (*nirupa*) seems to have been issued to take effect from Kārtika śu. 1 in Tāraṇa corresponding to 1404 A D., October 5, when the *adhikārigaḷ* of the nāḍu *i.e.*, Mārjavāḍa-nāḍu insisted upon the priests of the temple to pay the income from the *kāṇika* to the palace. The king also issued orders (*rāyasa*) to the officers, tax-officers (*adhikāra-suṁkiga*), *taḷavāra*, etc., not to pay the amount to the palace and thus granted it as *sarvamānya*. It also records the apportioning of the shares between the priests of the temple. The entire procedure described in the record attests to the king's interest in the proper execution of the orders pertaining to the collection of taxes.

The inscription from Kōsuvāripalli, Madanapalle taluk of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya dated Śaka 1465 (= 1544 A.D.) records the grant of lands probably situated in the village Yallavarūru in Vāvilipāṭi-sīma in Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa, to the deity Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of Kōsuvāripalli by *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Komāra Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka, son of Kaṁbhaṁ Timmanāyani-Veṅkaṭādri-nāyaka. The *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* Komāra Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka is stated to have obtained Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa as *amara* from the king.[105] The donor's father is also described as a *mahānāyaṅkāchārya* and is stated to have received the same *sīma* as a *nāyaṅkara* from the emperor in or before 1539 A.D.[106]

An inscription from Vyāpulapalle, Madanapalle taluk belonging to the reign of Sadāśivarāya dated Śaka 1481 (= 1559 A.D.) records the grant of wet and dry lands to the deity Lakshmīnarasiṁha at Rāmagiri-durga for the *aṅgaraṅga vayibhava* and food offerings by Jillela Veṅgaḷayyadēva-mahārāju, son of Kṛishṇamarāju, grandson of Pedakṛishṇamarāju of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āpastaṁbha-sūtra and Yajuś-śākhā. The gift lands are stated to be situated in Veṁpalapalli in the village of Mudivāṭi (also called Mudipāṭi, Mudivāḍa) in Vāvilipāṭi-sīma belonging to Rāmagiri-durga of Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa, which the donor is said to have obtained as *amara* from Rāmarāju Tirumalarājayyadēva-mahāraju (who is described as *rājyabhāra-dhuraṁdhara* of the king Sadāśivarāya-mahārāya).[107]

Another inscription of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya from Vēlkūru, Chittoor taluk, dated Śaka 1486 (= 1564 A.D.) records the grant of lands in Tiruveṅganallūr made probably in the temple of Mārgasahāyadēva to the deities Trimūrtīśvaradēva and Mādhavanārāyaṇaperumāḷ of Vēḷukūr for offerings by Pratāparāyalu, son of *mahārājādhirāja* śrī Bhānuji-voḍayalu. He held Tiruveṅganallūr as *amara-nāyaṅkara* granted to him by the king himself.[108]

Among the three instances cited above, the first describes the recipient of the *amara* fief as *mahānāyaṅkāchārya.* In the case of the third instance the donor is stated to have received the village as *amara-nāyaṅkara* from the *rāya i.e.*, the emperor. It appears therefore that there may not be much of a difference between the expressions *amara*, *amara-nāyaṅkara* or *nāyaṅkara*. It is possible that in all these cases the grant of a feudal estate to select individuals in return for agreed services was made for a life time *i e.*, till the life time of the individual and hence called *amara* in a limited sense. The fact that both father and son received the same *sīma* respectively as *nāyaṅkara* and *amara* from the emperor indicates that the conferment of *nāyaṅkara* was probably not hereditary by itself but was dependant upon the personal satisfaction of the emperor.

Among the numerous offices that were held by several dignitaries that served under the kings of the Vijayanagar period, *rāyasam*, *kāryakarta*, *daḷavāy*, *durgādhipati*, *ādikkam*, etc., are a few of the important offices figuring in the records of the kings available from Chittoor district besides those already known. Though we have a number of records containing references to these offices, but only a few representative records are discussed here.

Rāyasam-Viṭṭamaraśayyar, the son of Timmaraśar[109] and *Rāyasam*-Koṇḍamarasayya, the son of Timmarasayyaṅgār[310] figures in the records of Kṛishṇarāya as donors. The Kāḷahasti inscription of Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāya dated Śaka 1433 (= 1511 A.D.) records an order of *Rāyasam* Viṭṭamaraśayyar, son of Timmaraśar of Sēvūr *alias* Sōmiyadaṇāyakkapuram granting 850 *poṉ* for providing offerings on Śivarātri day and during early morning services to the deity.[111]

The record from Tirumala, Chandragiri taluk, mentions an undertaking given by the *sthānattār* of the temple to *Rāyasam* Koṇḍamarasayya, who granted the village Mulumpūṇḍi in Nellūrsīmai in Udayagiri-rājya as *poliyūṭṭu*, for the income from the produce of this village being allowed to be collected by the *sthānattār*, who measured the supply of articles for food offerings to the deity Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ. The record[112] in which the order (*kaṭṭaḷai*) of Koṇḍamarasayya is mentioned, is dated Śaka 1441 (= 1519 A.D.).

The office of *kāryakarta* (*kāryattukkuk-kaḍava*) stands for the 'agent' of the king, or chief, or *mahāpradhāni.* The *pradhāni arasar* Kopparasar is mentioned as an agent (*kāryakarta*) of *mahāpradhāni* Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār, the local dignitary of king Pratāpa Dēvarāya who is described as ruling the earth in Śaka 1348, Parābhava, Kanni, śu 7, Sunday, Mūla = 1426 A.D., September 8, f.d.n. ·26, Sunday in an inscription from Muḍipaḷḷi, Puttur taluk.[113]

We know that king Achyutarāya had two brothers-in-law *viz.*, Salakarāju Peda and Pina Tirumalarāju, the brothers of his (Achyutarāya's) queen Varadāmbā. It is clear from the records of Achyutadēva-mahārāya that both Salakarāju Tirumalayyadēva-mahārāju[114] and Timmarāja Salakarāja[115] had the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.*

In Achyutarāya's inscription from Kāḷahasti[116] dated Śaka 1455 (= 1533 A.D.)

Timmarāja Salakarāja, the agent (*kāryakarta*) of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Salakarāja Tirumalaiyadēvamahārāja is stated to have granted a share of 3/4 village Kuntamāna Koṇḍamapuram in Paḍaināṭṭu-śīrmai for providing offerings to the deity during the early morning service, for the merit of his sister Koṇḍamma.

A Telugu record from Pullveṇḍla, Pulivendla taluk, Cuddapah district mentions one Timmarāju [Sa]lakayya[dē]vamahārāju and records the grant of taxes to the merchants, *reḍḍis*, *karaṇams* and others in order to rehabilitate the village by his (Timmarāju [Sa]lakayya[dē]va-mahārāju) agent (*kāryakartta*) Tuḷuva Yellappa-nāyaniṁgāru in the reign of Achyutadēva-mahārāya over the earth in Śaka 1457 (= 1535 A.D.).[117] It is not unlikely that Timmarāja Salakarāja of these two records are identical.

It is known from an inscription of Sadāśivarāya from Kōsuvāripalle, Madanapalle taluk dated Śaka 1479 (= 1557 A.D.) that Umāpati is another *kāryakarta* who figures as a donor in that record. It refers to the grant of the income as *poliyūṭṭu* from the villages Kōsuvāripalli, Goḍugubba, Mudalidoḍḍi, etc., towards provisions for food offerings to the deity Mallikārjuna of Kōsuvāripalle by Umāpati, the agent of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mūrtirāju Viṭhaladēva-mahārāju.[118]

Daḷavāy Śrīraṅga-rāvuttar is another dignitary who figures in a record dated in the year Dundubhi *i.e.*, Śaka 1364 (= 1442 A.D.) from Sattravāḍa, Puttur taluk. This inscription records a charter to the weavers (*śeṇiyans*) by Śrīraṅga-rāvuttar, who is described as the *daḷavāy* of Selva-Tippa, the son of Sāḷuva Tippa.[119]

Achyutarāya-nāyakkar is known to have held the office of *durgādhipati* of Chandragiri, in the reign of Achyutadēva-mahārāya. The expression *durgādhipati* indicates clearly that he was the 'officer of the fort' *i.e.*, administering the affairs of the fort. A record from Chandragiri, Chandragiri taluk dated Śaka 1459 (= 1537 A.D.) refers to this officer (Achyutarāya-nāyakkar) as making grant of money for day and *sandhi* lamps, garland, unguents and *tirupparivaṭṭam*, to god Chidambara-Īśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyinār and worship and services to god Koppunāthapperumāḷ (Gōpinātha ?) and Sōmanātha on the hill at Chandragiri in Vaikuṇḍa-vaḷanāḍu, in Tiruvēṅgaḍak-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇaḍśōḷa-maṇḍalam, for the merit of king Achyutadēva-mahārāyar.[120]

Another office mentioned in a record of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha is *ādhikkam* which means 'regime' or 'administration'. This record dated Śaka 1389 (= 1468 A.D.) mentions the grant of income from the five villages Vāñjipākkam, Mallimālai, Śē[lai]kkūr and Bhīmapuram in Kīḻaippaḍai-nāḍu in Chandragiri-rājyam and Vāḷālmaṇkoṇḍāṉ in Paḍavīṭṭil-śīmai, by Narasiṅgayyadēva-mahārāja, son of Guṇḍaiyadēva-mahārāja of the Sāḷuva family, for the distribution of food offerings, as stipulated, to a choultry under the administration (*ādhikkam*) of Astigiri Aiyyaṉ, built by the donor for his own merit, near the *gōpura* also constructed by him.[121]

Thus, we find the administration under the Vijayanagara emperor was characterised by the existence of the several tiers of officers mostly concerned with the collection of revenue. Some of them at the top, however, were feudal lords with certain limited powers and with an obligation of service both in war and peace, when called upon. The *mahāpradhānis*, the *pradhānis* and the *mahānāyaṅkāchāryas* appear to have powers of granting exemption from taxes, subject to the approval of the emperor. The officers lower down in the hierarchy seem to have been mere executives empowered only to carry out the orders. The selection of people in the higher echelons appear to have been absolutely personal and not necessarily hereditary.

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While the feudatories with some pretensions to royal blood are conspicuous by their absence during this period unlike in the earlier period, we find a new class of feudal lords who rose by personal service to the emperor. The revenues which sustained this administration under the Vijayanagara kings were based on a system which marked a definite change from the previous systems so far described.

The sacred institution of marriage had been made a source of income by way of a tax levied on it called *peṇḍli suṅka*. The tax appears to have been very oppressive resulting in the suspension of marriages in the entire country. On representation, this tax was abolished. This interesting information is revealed by a record of Kṛishṇarāya from Raṅgasamudram, Madanapalle taluk dated Śaka 1432 (= 1510 A.D.; if the cyclic year is Pramōda) which records an order issued by the king to his *pradhāni* Sāḷuva Timmarusayya and Ādepa-nāyaka (-°nāyaṁnigāru).[122]

An inscription of Kṛishṇarāya-mahārāya from Tirupati dated Śaka 1450 (=1528 A.D.) records a grant of 60 *rĕkhai-pon̤* as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* from the village Oḍḍampaṭṭu, for food offerings on the full-moon days to the deity Gōvindarājan̤.[123]

Another inscription from Tirumala belonging to the reign of Achchutaraya-mahārāya dated Śaka 1456 (=1534 A.D.) records an endowment by Varadājidēviamman̤, queen (*paṭṭamahādĕvi*) of Achchutarāya of the income of 920 *rĕkhai-pon̤* from the villages Sin̤amadappulūr and Muttukkūr in Gaṇḍikōṭṭai-śīrmai, Polivā, Valli and Maṅgamūr villages in Koṇḍavīḍu-śīmai, Payiṇḍipaḷḷi in Nārāyaṇapura-śīrmai and 140 *rĕkhai-pon̤* from other sources from these six villages for food offerings to god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān̤.[124]

An inscription of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya from Tirupati dated Śaka 1480 (= 1558 A.D.) records an endowment by Appalayar, son of *Karaṇikkam* Kāmarasa[ppirappan̤] of 185 *rĕkhai-pon̤* and 8-1/4 *paṇam* from the villages Tāyanūr.. kuppam in Teṟku-māgāṇai, Vīragaṇḍanallūr-agrahāram in Paḍaivīḍu-rājyam, Peraviyal in Uṭṭakkur[māgāsabhai], Tāḷimaruppūr in Paśumbalūr-māgāṇai in Gaṇḍikōṭṭai-śīrmai, Allituṇai-agrahāram, Dēvaraśappaḷḷi-agrahāram and the Kuppam granted by him for celebrating the festivals and for food offerings to the deities Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān̤ and Gōvindarājan̤.[125]

A record of Śrīraṅgadēva-mahārāya from Tirumala dated Śaka 1505 (= 1583 A.D.) records an undertaking given by the *sthānattār* in Tirumala given to Eṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchāriayyan, son of Ayyāv-ayyaṅgār and grandson of Tōḷapparāchāriyār, to provide for food offerings to the god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān̤, from the income of 720 *rĕkhai-pon̤* from the four villages *viz.*, Ayyambākkam in [Pāla]vēṭṭu-śīrmai in Teṟku-māgāṇai, Pichāṭṭūr, Pulivāy and Mullaivāyi in Tuḷaiparivāyi-śīrmai, granted by the latter.[126]

The record of Veṅkaṭapatidēva-mahārāya from Tirupati dated Śaka 1514 (= 1592 A.D.) mentions a similar undertaking by the *sthānattār* in Tirumala given to Periya Timmappa-ṇāyakkar of Chaturtha-gōtra, of *kavaṟai* class, a resident of Vijayanagara, who made a grant of 320 *rĕkhai-pon̤* from Pūndamalli-agaram in Pāḷaiya-śīrmai in Teṟku-māgāṇai to provide for worship and food offerings to the deities Emberumānār and Gōvindarājan̤ and for celebrating the festivals to the deity Gōvindarājan̤.[127]

All the instances cited above record grants of income assessed in a lump sum accruing from the lands of the specified villages. This was called *rĕkhai-pon̤*. This is in total variance with the practices obtained in the records of the earlier periods. In the earlier instances all the taxes were named and the total income per village was never reckoned. But in the case of these records covering the period of the kings of Tuḷuva dynasty the practices of quoting a lump sum as the total tax income in respect of specified villages was in vogue, without listing the names of taxes. The fixation of the lump sum as *rēkhai-poṉ* was related to the tenure under which the management of lands in particular villages was entrusted to selected individuals of note like Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyaṅgār (*vide* : the inscription summarised above). Wherever the income from land including the taxes was assigned to the temple the break up for expenditure was enumerated in terms of *rēkhai-poṉ* collected from the specified villages. This was the most important feature of the system of taxation during this period. The efficient management of this tenure by the selected individuals often resulted in increase of income on account of the improved irrigation systems. The agricultural produce was yet the mainstay of the revenues.

Two inscriptions of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya both dated Śaka 1480 (=1559 A.D., February 6) record the grant of income from the taxes (*varttana*) *mahārācha-tēva* etc., by *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jillēḷḷa Kṛishṇama-rājayya-veṅgaḷarāju to the local deities. The record from Kālavapalli in Madanapalle taluk records the grant of income from the taxes (*varttana*) such as *mahārācha-tēva*, the taxes *(varttanalu)* collected in the *nagari i.e.*, town, the tax called *svāṁmya-svataṁtrālu*, etc., from the villages Kāluvapalli Maddināyinipālem, [Pe]da-bali-Kōṭapalli, Yaradoḍḍi...... in Rāmagiridurga-śīma in Udayagiri-Mārjavāḍa in Penugoṇḍa to the goddess Aṅkālamma of Kāluvapalli for worship and food offerings.[128] Another inscription of this king but dated a month earlier than the date of Kālavapalli record *i.e.*, 1559 A.D., January 6 from Sōmapalle (Sōṁpālem) refers to the tax *alugu-rūkalu* out of the *mahārāchatēvalu* collected in Sōṁpalle-agrahāra in Rāmagiri-durga in Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa and Udayagiri-Mārjavāḍa and in the four-sīma (*chatuśśīmalu*) and records the assignment of income from the tax *alugu-rūkalu* for the worship and food offerings on Śivarātri day and for celebrating the *Pāru[vēṁ]ṭa* festival to the deity Chavuṁḍēśva[ra]mma of Sōṁpalle.[129]

It has been suggested that *mahārāchatēvalu* seems to indicate a group of taxes of levies, of which *alugu-rūkalu* formed one and is comparable with *mahārācha-prayōjanam* mentioned along with *dēvatā-prayōjanam* in a record of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya dated Śaka 1475 (=1552 A.D.) from Paluguräḷḷapalle in Badvel taluk, Cuddapah district.[130]

The corresponding term obtained in Tamil inscriptions is no doubt *araśu manai-tēvai* conveying a similar idea. *Araśu-pēṟu*[131] also may be a synonym meaning the tax collected for the enjoyment of the king (*araśu*).

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

AGRICULTURE

Cattle-wealth

As in the other parts of the country, agriculture was the major profession of the people. It was the life-blood of the society. In the village where agricultural economy prevailed, naturally other allied professions like carpentry, smithy, pottery and the like received great impetus. Cattle, naturally, was considered not only as holy, but also as the measure of property. The wealth of the individual and of the society was assessed on the basis of the cattle that one possessed. In the villages cattle-raids were quite usual.

An inscription of Vaiduṁba king Gaṇḍatriṇētra from Kalakaḍa, Vayalpad taluk assignable to middle of 9th century A.D., seems to record the death of his younger brother (*priyānuja*) Palla[da]yya (or Pallavayya) in an encounter (*puyyavaridu*) with Indireya, (younger) brother (*tammu*) of Rāmeya of Ōgu, Maṟeya Koṇḍeya and Doḍa-Mā[dhi]yya, who lifted the buffaloes at Tu[ṁbe]vāḍi. The prince is stated to have entered the fray after hearing the death of a hero Ajaḷa, probably despatched by him to defend the aggressors.[132]

An inscription from Kurubalakōṭa, Madanapalle taluk mentions a certain Koḷanaḍippi Bīreya, the brother-in-law (*maṟandi*) of Gaṇḍasaṅkaliyya and the ruler of Vallesappa fought with the Sōḷuḷu (*i.e.*, Chōḷas) and lost his life.[133]

The Bāṇa inscription from Vanamaladinne, Punganur taluk assignable to the reign period of Bāṇa Vijayāditya I (*c.* 9th century A.D.) records the death of Amaḷar Kittaṉṉan when the Vaidurhba ruler attempted to lift cattle. The deceased hero is stated to be a son of Tārāra-Dharmmadamēṇṭi. A *kaṇḍuga* of paddy field in which Amaḷar Kittaṉṉan fell was granted in honour of the hero to Goṇḍora Māmalipotti the adopted son (*koḷamaga*) of the deceased hero.[134]

A hero Bīra Balañji, son of Siṅghapuli is stated to have lost his life while defending the 300 bulls carried away by a certain Vemmarasar during the rule of Vajjaradēva. It is known from other records of this place that Vajjradēva was ruling the earth in Śaka 886-87 (= 964-65 A.D.).[135]

These instances indicate the importance attached to cattle as an economy. Often times, in these periods, battles commenced with cattle-raids. Cattle-raids may be said to be a prelude to war. Even the chiefs, kings, sent a reconnoitering party as if to gauge the strength of the enemy.

This also shows that cattle was a part of wealth and an individual's economic position was assessed on the basis of the cattle wealth he possessed. Cattle was, undoubtedly therein life-blood and cattle-raid was considered by the entire unit of a village as an infringement of their own rights. Naturally the entire village stood unified in opposing such raids.

Irrigation

The king as the head of the state, ruling chief, officials, the local bodies (local administrative units), as also individuals took interest in giving impetus to agriculture. Irrigation was one of the major items of work in which the entire society was essentially interested. For, it was through irrigation that agriculture could be progressive. It was considered a munificent and holy act on the part of individuals as also the administrators to construct canals, excavate lakes, tanks, dig wells—all these for the encouragement of agriculture.

The district depends mostly on artificial irrigation systems. It is almost devoid of perennial supply of water drawn from great rivers. The few rivers that are in this district *viz.*, Pāpaghnī Bāhunadā, Kauṇḍinyanadī, Pīlār, Ponnai, Kalyāṇi, Kōrtalaiyār (Kuśasthalī) and Swarṇamukhī, are not big enough to receive large amounts of water. Hence the greater need for artificial irrigation. A record from Kurmāyi, Palmaner taluk of Sadāśiva dated Śaka 14[8]2 (= 1559 A.D.) refers to the right of utilizing the available water facility in *cheruvulu* (*cheru-ülu*), *kuṁṭalu*, *nūtulu* and *ĕtālu* for irrigating the land granted as *archanā-vṛitti*.[136]

The list appended herewith gives ample proof regarding the interest taken by all the administrative agencies in constructing and maintaining the canals, lakes and tanks.

LIST OF TANKS, LAKES, ETC.

Location 1	*Name of the lake, tank, channel and its location* 2	*Nature of work* 3	*Name of the builder, donor and the nature of grant made* 4	*King and date* 5	*Reference* 6
CHANDRAGIRI TALUK					
Avilāla	Āvilā[li]-ēri at Avilāla	Maintenance of the lake	Vijiya[k]kaṇār-income from taxes	Vikramāditya-Māvalivāṇarāyar under Nandivarman III, 21st year (= 867 A.D.)	*A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38 No. 188.
Tirumala	*Ibid.*	Got the old channel from Mudari river and connected it with the lake and dug out a new channel	Mallaṇṇagaḷ also called Mādhava-dāsar, a minister-money	— Śaka 1330, Sarva-dhāri (= 1409 A.D.)	*T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 194/92 T.T.
Tirupati	*Ibid.*	Water channel excavated from *Kaśakkāl* to Payiṇḍipaḷḷi and from there drawn to the lake	—	— (1450-51 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 224/29 G.T.
Ibid.	*Ibid.*	Desilting the lake	*Kōyilkēḷvi* Emberu-mānārjīyar-5000 *paṇam*	— Śaka 1378, Dhātu (= 1457 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 223/190 T.T.
Tirumala	Channel at Māvaṇḍūr	For digging the channel	Sīraṅgāṁbādēvi — money	Narasiṅgarāya uḍaiyār, Śaka 1388, Vyaya (= 1487 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 25/341 T.T.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ibid.	Channel at Ālipuram	Excavation of the channel	Rāmanāyakkar	Kṛishṇarāya, Śaka 1426, Raktākshi (= 1504 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 1/305 T.T.
Tirupati	Tiruchchukaṉūr-ēri	—	—	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1434, Āṅgīrasa (=1513 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 31/153 G.T.
Ibid.	Tirumalaināya-kar-kālvāy	Excavation of the *kālvāy*	Niyamaṅkiḻān ... Tiruvēṅgaḍam-uḍaiyār-150 *paṇam.*	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*
Tirumala	Rāmānujaputtēri, west of Chandra-giri road	—	—	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1437, Yuva (=1515 A.D.)	*Ibid.* No. 105/311 T.T.
Ibid.	Channel at Maṇiyakōṉpaṭṭu	Excavation of the channel	*Karaṇika* Basava-rasar—money	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*
Ibid.	Tiramanēri	Desilting the lake and the channel	Siṭṭamu-śaṭṭi-14,590 *naṟpaṇam*	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1439, Īśvara (= 1517 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 118/611 T.T.
Tirupati	Ammai-ēri, west of Pūttalaipaṭṭu	—	—	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1448, Vyaya (=1527 A.D.)	*Ibid*, No. 167/276 G.T.
Ibid.	Dēvaḷa-tīrtha	—	—	Achyutarāya, (= 1540 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 144/429 G.T.

1	2	3	4	5	6
KALAHASTI TALUK					
Guḍimallam	Veḷḷēri at Tiruvippirambēḍu	For the maintenance of the lake	Ayyapō[r̤]r̤i-assigned Tūmban̤ēri as *Erichcher̤u*	Dantivarman, 49th year (= 845 A.D.)	*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 225.
Ibid.	Puttēri	—	—	Rājarāja III, 15th year (= 1230-31 A.D.)	*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 503.
Ibid.	Śilaiyūr lake; Murukkēri at Tiruviruppu; Tittakā[r̤]r̤ūr channel at Chandragiri	For the maintenance and improvement of the lakes; channel irrigation	—	Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva II, Śaka 1208 (= 1286-87 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 514.
Kāḷahasti	Cir̤r̤ēri, Periyēri at Pūmanappaḷḷi	—	—	Harihara II, Śaka 1323 (= 1401-02 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 491
Chellūr (Śilaiyūr)	Sadāśivakōna	Channel irrigation	—	Vīra Narasiṅgayya, Śaka 1431 (= 1509 A.D.)	*A.R.Ep.*, 1925 No. 419.
Kāḷahasti	Urandūr lake	For the improvement of the lake	By the temple authorities	Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāya, Śaka 1433 (= 1511 A.D.)	*Ibid.*. 1924, No. 166.
Ibid.	Kan̤n̤ili-ēri	Deepening of the lake	*Ibid.*	Kṛishṇarāya, Śaka 1436 (= 1514 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 164
Ibid.	*Ibid.*	For the improvement of the lake	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1453 (= 1531 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 171

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ibid.	Chittāttūr-ēri	For digging pits in the lake	Chandirasē-khara Ayyaṉ-200 *paṇam*	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1449, Sarvajit (= 1527 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1922, No. 160
Ibid.	Toṇḍaimānāṟṟūr-ēri	For the improvement of the lake	By the temple authorities	Achyutarāya, Śaka 1454 (= 1532 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1924, No. 180.
Ibid.	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1457 (= 1535 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 152.
Ibid.	Kaḍaṅganēri	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1457, (= 1536 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 156.
Ibid.	Baśavāpuram-ēri	Excavation of the lake	— 100 *paṇam*	Sadāśivadēva, Śaka 1475 (= 1553 A.D.)	*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 485.
Ibid.	Lake at Talai-yāri-veṭṭu	For the improvement of the lake	By the temple authorities	*Ibid.*, Śaka 1489 (= 1567 A.D.)	*A.R.Ep.*, 1924, No. 183
PUNGANUR TALUK					
—	Lake at Maṅgala (?)	—	—	Vajjradēva, (middle of 10th century)	*Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 178.
Mēkala-chāmapalle	Lake at Mēkalachāmpalle	Construction of the lake	Dōramma...... vaseṭṭi	Rājēndra I, 4th year (= 1015-16 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 190.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Puṅgaṉūr	Rājendraśōḻap-peri-ēri at Kuṅganūr *alias* Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam	—	—	Rājēndra, (*i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga I), 3rd year (= 1072-73 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1906, 540.
Eḍūru	Madurāntakap-pēr-ēri situated to the east of Aḻiñjanēri at Iḍaiyūr *alias* Śrīkaraṇanallūr	Construction of the lake	Tirumāl Madurāntakan *alias* Naraśiṅgapanmaṉ	Kulōttuṅga I, 37th year (= 1106-07 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 202.
Miniki-baṇḍa	Channel	Construction of the channel and for its improvement	Śokkanāyaṉ	*Ibid.*, 39th year (= 1108-09 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1906, No. 568.
Nāḍimpalle	Kuranelli-peri-ēri	—	—	Śaka, 1154, Khara (= 1232 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1933-34 No. 159.
Pasumattūr	Peri-ēri	Construction of sluice	Vayiruvu	Viḷambi *i.e.*, Śaka 1161 (= 1239 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1931-32 No. 231.
Arikela	[Ka]ṁnegeṟe at Arikiṟe	Construction of the lake	Ba[le]nāyaka	Bukka II, Śaka 1314 (= 1392 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 226.
Kurijili	Lake at Kurijili	Digging of the lake	—	Śaka 1419 (= 1497 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, 1933-34 No. 156.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Bōḍināyanipalle	Lake at Bōḍināyanipalle	Construction of sluice	—	—	*Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 185.
Dēśidoḍḍi	Panegunṭe lake	Construction of sluice	—	—	*Ibid.*, No. 191.
Alajanēri	Aḷiñjanēri	Repairs in the lake	—	—	*Ibid.*, No. 218.
MADANAPALLE TALUK					
Pulikallu	Lake at Pūlikkāvūr	Construction of the lake and sluice	Pāḷaiyaṉ *alias* Nittavinōda-...śōḷa-gāmuṇḍan	—	*Ibid.*, 1922, No. 343.
Badikāyalapalle	Veṅkaṭappanāyani lake	For the maintenance of the lake	—	Krōdhana	*Ibid.*, 1914, No. 440.
PUTTUR TALUK					
Yōgimallavaram	Nārāyaṇaputtēri	Excavation of the lake	Pokkaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍiyataraiyar	Rājarāja III, 7th year (= 1222-23 A.D.)	*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 299.
Ibid.	Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvapputtēri	*Ibid.*	Pokkaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍiyataraiyar —100 *kāśu*	Rājarāja III, 14th year (= 1229-30 A.D.)	*Ibid.*, No. 304.
Muḍipaḷḷi	Lake at Muḍipaḷḷi-agaram	Desilting the lake annually	Arasar Kopparasar	Pratāpa Dēvarāya, Śaka 1348 (= 1426 A.D.)	From the author's collection.

The inscription of Dantivarman from Guḍimallam, Kalahasti taluk dated in the 49th year (= 845 A.D.) states that in the reign of Vijayāditta Māvalivā[ṉa]rāyar, Ayyapō[ṟ]ṟi belonging to Kaḻḻiyamaṅgalam, a member of the *āḻuṅgaṇam* of Tiruvippirambēḍu assigned a field in a locality described as his own, called Tūmbaṉēri as *ĕrichcheṟu* (*i.e.*, field endowed for the maintenance of the lake), for desilting (*kuḻi-kutti*) the lake called Veḷḷēri at Tiruvippirambēḍu.[137]

An inscription of Nandivaram (III) from Avilāla, Chandragiri taluk dated in the 21st year (=867 A.D.) records that in the reign of Vikkiramāditta (Vikramāditya) Māvalivāṇarāya at the request of Vijiya[k]kaṉār who was the queen and who had the title *Atippiraśādi* petitioned to the king and got the income from taxes such as *paṭṭakallāṇkāṇi*, *pidānāḻi* for the maintenance of the Āvilā[li]-ēri evidently at Avilāla, the find-spot of the record.[138]

Subsequently we hear from the inscriptions of Tirumala and Tirupati, Chandragiri taluk about the maintenance and improvement made to this lake by a chief and private donors.

The record from Tirumala dated Śaka 1330 (= 1409 A.D.) mentions an undertaking by the *sthānattār* given to Mallaṇṇagaḷ also called Mādhavadāsar who got the old channel from Mudari river to the lake at Avilāli and got also a new channel dug out from the same lake to the fields at his own cost, to supply the necessary provisions for food offerings to the god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ equal in value to the interest on the money invested by him. The entire village Avilāli is stated to be a *dĕvadāna* of the deity.[139] Mādhavadāsar, as a minister had taken interest in this, in digging the channels which had resulted in the increased produce from 5000 *kuḻi* of land that was brought newly under cultivation.

Another channel was excavated for the same lake at Avilāli from the *kaśakkāl* at Payiṇḍipaḷḷi. This channel was excavated in place of another channel which was arranged to be dug up across the villages. The latter excavation was protested to by the villagers of Payiṇḍipaḷḷi as a result of which the proposal of extending this canal to Avilāli was given up. This is an instance of satisfying the interests of two villages Payiṇḍipaḷḷi and Avilāli, which had the necessity to draw water for irrigation from the same source of supply *viz.*, *kaśakkāl*.[140] The channel that was first dug up across Payiṇḍipaḷḷi was made over to the control of the village in return for which they were required to provide for certain services in the temple at Tirupati out of the additional income that they may derive from it.

Another record from the same place dated Śaka 1378, (= 1457 A.D.) records an undertaking given by the *sthānattār* of the temple to *kōyil-kĕḻvi* Emberumānār-jīyar who granted 5000 *paṇam* for desilting the lake at Avilāli.[141]

The instances discussed above show how the big lake at Avilāli was maintained through the ages.

An inscription from Mēkalachāmapalle, Punganur taluk dated in the 4th year (= 1015-16 A.D.) of the reign of Rājēndra I records the construction of a lake by Dōramma……va seṭṭi, son of Sānti seṭṭi.[142]

The Puṅganūr record of Rājēndra *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga I, dated in the 3rd year (= 1072-73 A.D.) of his reign seems to refer to the excavation of a lake Rājēndraśōḻapperi-ēri evidently named after the king at Kuṅganūr *alias* Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by the *sĕnāpati* Rājēndraśōḻa-brahmādhirāja and the *sabhā* of Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[143]

A record from Eḍūru, Punganur taluk dated in the 37th year (= 1106-07 A.D.) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I records the construction of Madurāntakap-pērēri situated to the east of Aḻiñjanēri at Iḍaiyūr *alias* Śrīkaraṇanallūr by Tirumāl Madurāntakan *alias* Naraśiṅgapanmaṉ by bunding the sides of the river called Kāḍukoḷgān. It is situated to the east of Aḻiñjanēri. The forest land nearby was cleared and brought under cultivation and the produce was donated to the deity Śrīkaraṇīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva at Iḍaiyūr *alias* Śrīkaraṇanallūr. This lake was named Madurāntakap-pērēri, obviously after the excavator Tirumāl Madurāntakan *alias* Naraśiṅgapanmaṉ. This provides an instance of a portion of a river being turned into a reservoir with a view to bring fresh land under cultivation.[144]

The records of Rājarāja III from Yōgimallavaram, Puttur taluk dated respectively in the 7th (= 1222-23 A.D.)[145] and 14th (= 1229-30 A.D.)[146] year of his reign records the excavation of lakes of Maṅgala and Muññaippūṇḍi, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇaputtēri and Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvap-puttēri, for the merit of Nārāyaṇappiḷḷai, a subordinate who assisted Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva *alias* Yādavarāya against Kāḍavarāya in the fight at Uratti and for the merit of the Yādavarāya king (mentioned here as piḷḷaiyār) by Pokkaṉ *alias* Pāṇḍiyataraiyar, son of Parasamaiya Kōḷariyāṇḍār.

An inscription from Arikela, Punganur taluk dated Śaka 1314 (= 1392 A.D.) in the reign of Immaḍi Bukkaṁṇoḍeya (Bukka II) records the arrangement made for the construction of [Ka]ṁnegeṟe at Arikiṟe by Ba[le]nāyaka.[147]

The Tirumala record dated Śaka 1388 (= 1487 A.D.)[148] mentions an undertaking by the *sthānattār* in Tirumala given to Sīraṅgāṁbādēvi-ammaṉ, probably wife of Sāḷuva Narasiṁharāya, son of Guṇḍayadēva-mahārāja who made a gift of money for digging the channel excavated by Narasiṅgarāya-uḍaiyār, for her own merit in the village Māvaṇḍūr.[149]

Another inscription from the same place dated Śaka 1439 (= 1517 A.D.) in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya records the grant of 14,590 *naṟpaṇam* by Siṭṭamu-śeṭṭi of Narasiṅgarāyapura (a hamlet of Tirupati) for desilting the lake Tiramanēri and the channels and further refers to the provision made for food offerings to the deities Veṅkaṭēśa, Gōvindarāja, etc.[150]

Yet another record of this king from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk dated Śaka 1449 (= 1517 A.D.) refers to the gift of 200 *paṇam* by Chandiraśēkhara-ayyaṉ, a Kannaḍiya-brāhmaṇa of Dēvikāpuram in Marudaraśar-paḍaivīḍu for the merit of his father Viṭṭhamaraśar and mother Saṅkarammaṉ, for digging pits in the lake at Chittātūr (*Chittātūr-ēri*) and states that from the yield of the lands irrigated by it, a lamp was to be burnt on the Kailaimalai.[151]

The few instances cited above afford ample proof of the interest taken by the individuals and the state in irrigation. The arrangements made for irrigation consisted of 1) investing money by spending on desilting of the existing lakes or assigning the income from taxes towards the same 2) by the construction of new lakes and bringing fresh land under cultivation and 3) by excavating new channels or renovating the old ones to ensure regular supply of water to the areas all along the banks of the channels. We find also instances where a chain of irrigation systems by which lakes were connected with rivers and the lake connected among themselves. We may note also the solitary instance of the bunding of the river and creating a reservoir out of that.

The Laḍḍigam inscription of Kulōttuṅga I dated in the 16th year of his reign

(= 1085-86 A.D.) records the grant of Mādamaṅgalam with various taxes including *mīṉpāṭṭam* by the king for the offerings to the deity Iruṅgōḷīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva at Koyāṟṟūr *alias* Uttamachōḷapuram in Pulināḍu.[152] The expression *mīṉpāṭṭam* indicates the tax collected by granting fishing rights. It is not known whether the tax was levied in cash or kind or in both.

The term *pāśipāṭṭam* also denote a tax levied on similar rights as is evident from an inscription from Tirumala referring to the grant of *ēri-mīṉ-pāśipāṭṭam* by the villagers for the rendering of *vēdapārāyaṇam* to god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ.[153] This inscription is dated Śaka 1355 (= 1433 A.D.).

We find that the lakes provide income assigned for such purposes as detailed above.

Chitramēḻi

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk, dated in the 30th year (= 1207-08 A.D.) of his reign records the gift of lands in Kūṟṟuppūṇḍi in...... Naḍu-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam to the deity of Kōḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti to provide for offerings and to construct a chariot for the processional deity by Rājamalla Yādavarāya. The Chittiramēḻi-periyanāṭṭavar, the famous agricultural organisation passed on the above gift of lands to the temple after receiving the value of lands and the taxes on them from the Yādavarāya chief.[154]

This inscription affords an instance where the agricultural organisation called *Chitramēḻi-periyanāṭṭār* had grown up as an influential body exercising the powers of administration just like the authorities of *brahmadēya* and the *ūr* that were known to have functioned throughout these periods. The powers of exempting the lands or even an entire village from the general revenues were generally vested in the *sabhā* or the *ūr*. But here we find the *Chitramēḻi* organisation which had the power to collect these taxes was compensated by the chief in the form of a consolidated sum towards both the price and the tax. Though this is a solitary instance in respect of this *Chitramēḻi* within Chittoor district yet we can visualise the dominating role of this organisation throughout the length and breadth of the territories ruled over by Kulōttuṅga III.

We find instances pertaining to this and other similar functions of the *Chitramēḻi* organisation both in the north of Chittoor and also in the south.[155]

An interesting inscription from Sattravāḍa, Puttur taluk dated in the 18th year (= 1354-55 A.D.) in the reign of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya records the grant of the village Tiraṇi to the god of Dēśavināyaka temple at Śattirapāḍi by Mēḻittēvaṉ which he obtained as *rudirapaṭṭi* from the residents of Tiraṇi-nāḍu and Naḍu-nāḍu. He imposed a restriction on the sects of Śaṅkēti-samayakkārar and Vīra-koḍiyār from entering into the temple.[156] The reasons for this imposition of the restrictions on the entry of the members of a particular convention are not known. It is, however, possible that Mēḻittēvaṉ probably belonged to a different convention attached to the *Chitramēḻi*, as his name implies, which was not on good terms with the party mentioned in the record.

Trade

Trade both internal and external was the other major profession. Agricultural produce had to be moved from place to place depending upon the needs. Naturally, trade flourished, although the commodities of trade were limited mostly to the agricultural produce and its accessories. Hence, trade guilds were formed. One such trading society found from early times was the *nagarattār*.

The Kāḷahasti inscription of Rājarāja I dated in the 27th (1011-12 A.D.) year of his reign seems to record the gift by the king, of a gold plate (*paṭṭam*) (?) which is stated to have been brought by Aḍigaḷ Nakkaṇ, a senior officer (*perundaṇam*) of the king (Rājarājadēvar) and the *kil̤ān̤* of Tiruniyamam in Kil̤ārk-kūr̤r̤am in Rājāśraya-vaḷanāḍu and his (*paṇimagan̤*) Anantamādēvan (a *sālāpattiyan̤*) of Adiyarājamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Takkaḷūr-nāḍu in Arumol̤idēva-vaḷanāḍu. It also mentions the officials like *dēvarkanmigaḷ*, *karaṇattān*, Mūrkkaṇ Pāṇḍi, the *kil̤ān* of Ur̤appan̤n̤ūr in the service of (*paṇimagan̤*) a *śir̤udaṇam* officer of the king, who is stated to be the *śrīkāryam* officer of the god Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-mahādēvar and the *nagarattār* including Kor̤r̤uḷān Aiñchōr̤r̤uvan Danmaśilan *alias* Purushamāṇikkach-cheṭṭi, [Gur̤u]ku[la*]pōśaṇ Vā[śu*]dēvan Saguṇi *alias* Māmaṇḍalak-kavar̤a-śeṭṭi, Ōmalavan Kambaṇ-paṭṭālagan *alias* Danma-śeṭṭi, the merchants of Mummuḍiśōl̤apuram in Ār̤r̤ū[r*]-nāḍu in Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam, Kāḷappiriyan, the *kil̤ān̤* of Kaṭṭimān, Śaṅkarappāḍiyān Kaṇṇan-kīran *alias* Kun̤r̤ai-māyileṭṭi etc.[157]

The composition of *nagarattār* is indicated by the descriptive epithets given before or after their names such as *vyāpāri*, *kavar̤a-śeṭṭi*, *Dhanma-śeṭṭi* and *māyileṭṭi*. The word *vyāpāri* is too well known to need a definition. The word *śeṭṭi* is obviously a derivative of Sanskrit *śrēshṭhi* and so also is *māyileṭṭi*, which apparently stands for *mahā-śrēshṭhi*. The expression *kavar̤a-śeṭṭi* evidently refers to a minor group among the *śeṭṭi* community, for whom numerous inscriptions are available in Karnāṭaka. One more epithet describing a member of this group is *Śaṅkarappāḍiyān* which has been understood in the sense of the products of inter-caste marriages (*saṅkara*) who took to the profession of trade.[158]

In the reign of Rājādhirāja I dated in his 32nd year (1049-50 A D.), a convention of merchants of *nāḍu*, *nagara* and the thousand five hundred of the four and eight directions from the various countries (*nānādēśi tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūr̤r̤uvar*) of all the *samayas* (conventions), that met at Śirāvaḷḷi in Mūgai-nāḍu, decided to convert it into Nānadēśīya-Dasama[ḍi] *Er̤ivīra-paṭṭaṇa* and conferred the rights and privileges on the residents of that town. This is recorded in an inscription from Basinikoṇḍa in Madanapalle taluk.[159]

The practice of declaring certain well-known centres of trade as *Er̤ivīra-paṭṭaṇa* wherever the caravans of merchants were moving about, as evidenced by this inscription is also known from a similar instance recorded in an inscription from Ūruguppa, near Kempanapura in T. Narasipur taluk in Mysore district of about the latter half of the 11th century.[160] This latter inscription records a similar declaration of *Er̤ivīra paṭṭaṇam* conferring certain privileges to the residents of the place in return for some stipulated services to the passing caravans of traders.

A later Chōḷa inscription from Nārāyaṇavanam records the assignment of the income from *magaṇmai* paid by *Valaṅgai*, (*Iḍaṅgai* ?) ninety-eight sects to the deity called Kavar̤īśuram-uḍaiya-nāyanār, apparently named after *Kavar̤a-śeṭṭis* by the various merchant guilds such as *paṇṇiruvar-śeṭṭi*, *Ubhaiya-Nānādēśi Mummuḍi-daṇḍattār*, the export and import (*ēr̤u-śāttu* and *ir̤aṅgu-śāttu*) associations of traders.[161] The name of the deity Kavar̤īśvara indicates that the installation of the deity was made probably by a member of the *kavarai* merchant community.

The proliferation of the several bodies of the merchant communities as evidenced in this inscription is clearly a development in later times on account of the expansion of trade. Though the inscription records the transaction made by the local unit of such organisations, the mentioning of these names clearly indicate the evolution from *nagarattār* a simpler body with more local activities into units of bigger international bodies.

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8

Society, Religion, Epigraphical Language and Literature

SOCIETY

IT HAS BEEN shown above that the society was essentially agriculture-based. Social life was closely bound up with agriculture and all their activities centred round their life's profession. All other aspects of life were only contingent to this. Thus, we can picture a society of agriculturists leading peaceful lives; but disturbed by such cattle-raids,[1] as also skirmishes[2] between political powers leading to wars. As they endangered their own lives it became inevitable for the people to participate in these in support of their chief or their king, who was protecting them.[3]

Laying down one's life in protection of such a property was undoubtedly considered a matter of prestige and honour. It was a great sacrifice for the cause of the society in which one lived. The people also, in turn, considered it their duty to raise memorials in his honour, recount his heroic deeds and also discharge their responsibility towards those who depended upon the deceased hero.

The recorded instances in these memorial erections do not portray a full-picture either of contemporary economy or society. But the hero-stone records certainly imply conditions under which war initiated by cattle-raids was the order of the day. They record the valour of the heroes who engaged in cattle-lifting or who died in defence of cattle.

An inscription of Mahāvali Bāṇarasa from Vanamaladinne, Punganur taluk assignable to the 9th century A.D. records that while the enemy kings laid siege to the village (*ūram-baḷasikoṇḍu*) Vanamaladinne and lifted the cattle (*toṟugoḷa*) Nāgila Mūlagundura, son of Mūlagundura, by not allowing them to take away, fought with the enemies and lost his life. The Bāṇa of this record who is identical with Vikramāditya I granted to the (family of) the deceased hero, a field with the seed capacity of one *khaṇḍuga* of paddy as *kalnāḍu*.[4]

Another inscription of Noḷaṁbadi-arasa from the same place assignable to 10th century A.D. records that when Noḷaṁbadi-arasa was ruling the country and Pṛithuvīpati-arasa governing the territory, a hero called Kāḍakuṭṭi, the son of Mūlagundurar lost his life in the course of a cattle-raid on Eḍeyūru and the grant of a *khaṇḍuga* of land as *kalnāḍu* to the deceased hero by Māramayya, grandson (*mamma*) of Mārasiṁgarasa.[5]

The Bōḍināyanipalle record of Gaṅga king Permāḍi (Permmāḍi) identical with Pṛithvīpati II and assignable to 10th century A.D., on palaeographical grounds states that while Mayimana-Pallavareyar (Pallavaraiyar) was governing Pulināḍu, Rācha, a soldier of Beḷatūru died in a cattle-raid at Maṅgala after putting to death a number of enemies (*palarumam-mārānt-āḷu* [*sattaṁ*]). The king and the village (*arasuṁ* [*ū*]*rum*) granted to him seven *koḷa* of paddy field as *kalnāḍu.*[6]

We come to know from the records of this region before 1000 A.D., of the heroes having given up their lives in the course of their march against the enemy, in the siege and in defence of their territory. The hero-stones erected in their memory also record the gifts of land given to the family of the deceased heroes as *kalnāḍu*[7] or as *bālgaḷchu*[8] or as compensation (*parihāra=pariyāra*)[9].

In a fierce battle that took place between the Vaiduṁba forces and the Noḷaṁba aggressors at Mudumaḍuvu, the warrior chief of Vaiduṁba army Chantamānadaḍi lost his life. It is known from an inscription from Veligallu, Madanapalle taluk, assignable to *c.* 9th century A.D., that the hero Chantamānadaḍi, who was killed in a fight (*pōṭu*) at Mudumaḍuvu during the reign of Vaiduṁba king Gaṇḍatriṇētra over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand, was a renowned warrior of the Vaiduṁba forces. The valour of this deceased warrior is extolled at length in this inscription. Chantamāna is described as the only hero in the whole earth (*urbbiyoḷ=sakaladoḷ=orbbane gaṇḍan*), a receptacle of goodness (*oḷpi*[*ḍe*]*yan*), more valorous than the sons of Gonti (*Kuntī*) (*Gonti-sutarim=parākraman*), a Śūdraka in prowess or in possessing a strong army (*bal*[*va*]*ḍe-Sūdrakan*), the only teacher (*āchāryya*) to one who should steal the front (of battle) after having attacked with great force (*praḷaya-dhani mutti aṇiye*[*ṁ*] *Kadivoṁgaṁ*), who knew (to carry out) his determination (*chalamaṟivoṁgaṁ*), who would (aspire) to rule ([*ā*]*ḷmuvoṁgaṁ*) and who conferred gifts (upon supplicants) (*kuḍal-appoṁgaṁ*) etc.[10]

An inscription from Karshanapalle, Punganur taluk, of a Bāṇa king whose identity is not disclosed records the death of a certain Okkalan in the chief's service in a battle and an elephant being slained by this hero.[11]

These are instances of exhibition of valour by heroes in battles.

Men who passed away accidentally or prematurely were also remembered through the erection of memorial stones. We have the instance, in the reign of Māvalibāṇa Vichchādirar (*i.e.*, Bāṇa Vidyādhara), of Indappan, son of Chēdaḍiyār and his servant in the palace (*kōyiṟṟamaṉ*) who took part in the hunting expedition led by Śrīkaṇṭaiyyaṇ, son of Puḷalammaraiyar and who lost his life after being pierced by tiger, which is also said to have met with death. The land granted in memory of this deceased hero by Śrīkaṇṭaiyyaṇ is mentioned in an inscription of Bāṇa king Vichchādirar, who has been identified with Vikramāditya I, from Nelapalle in Punganur taluk.[12]

We have instances of devotees sacrificing themselves to fulfill a religious vow. The Pudupaṭla record of Mahābali Bāṇarasa, the date of which is not known, mentions that an individual named Jayanāgan entered into the sacred fire on the day of Makarasaṁkramaṇa (winter solstice) and put an end to his life. A stone was set up in memory of this dead person.[13]

Robbery was not uncommon and protection of private property and lives also was considered as a social duty.

The Puṅganūr inscription of Bāṇa king Mahāvali Vāṇarasar Vijayādityan Vīrachūḷāmaṇi Prabhumēru states that during his rule over Vaḍugavaḷi-12000 (Vaḍugavaḷi-pannirchāśira) and east of Maṇṇe (Maṇṇeyin-mūḍa), a Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttarasan had come to raid Kōyatūr. His servant (*āḷu*) Maletāṅgenāyakanappon who came with nine thieves robbed house by house. One Nāraṇakuṭṭi *alias* Kaliaṅga (or Kalipuṅga) Kaṇḍanārāyaṇan, son of Ajjavāgar heard the news of his house being robbed (by the thieves), rushed to the spot and killed four persons. One of the five thieves who escaped from this attack, took up an implement (*pāre*) from the place of robbery and opposed. He was killed with the other four of his group by Kaṇḍanārāyaṇan, who also lost his life in this fight. A *kalnāḍu* of one *kaṇḍuga* of land was granted (by the king) to the family of this deceased hero.[14]

Crimes were detected and suitable punishments meted out. A record in the Telugu language and Telugu-Kannaḍa script of about the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. of Vaidumba king Bhuvanatriṇētra from Kalakaḍa, Vayalpad taluk gives an interesting information in this regard. This record mentions that on the happy occasion of his coronation, Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya-mahārāju granted to the farmers (*kāṁpus*) of Vēnāḍu, taxes such as *Dogarācha-paṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu*, *Paḍiyēri-paṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇu*, exempting all the minor taxes (*chir̤uder̤alu*) including *tivuḷdesa*.[15]

The lines 13-15 in the text of this record of Bhuvanatriṇētra is very interesting :

> "Ṛa[ṁ]kāḍina naṁ[gaṁ]buna[ṁ]-baṭṭi yāḷini-maganinin=okkoḍu champina daṇḍuvu lēdu [1*]
> Aṭḷ=okkoḍu champaka āḷi mukku der̤ichi kadapinanu miṇṇaka kadapinanu
> maga-daṇḍuvu ar̤uvādinālugu gadye[ḷu] go[ṇ]uvāru [1*] Dīniki[ṁ] bariksha lēdu[1*]."

The above passage has been rendered as follows : "Apprehending adultery red-handed, if a man kills the woman and man (involved), no punishment is to be imposed (on him); but if, without killing (both the persons), he punishes (only) the woman by cutting her nose or by merely distressing her, they (*i.e.*, the *kāṁpus* of Vēnāḍu) should levy a fine of sixty-four *gadyas* (from the culprit). This is irrevocable.

This instance affords an interesting case where the contemporary sense of social justice is revealed. While the act of killing a woman and the man involved in adultery is appreciated,[16] the killing of the woman only is considered to be a crime. The guilt of both the parties is obviously admitted and hence the punishment is required to be uniform and not one sided. This appears to be the principle behind the stipulation given in the record. Further, the right of punishing the person who undertakes to punish only the woman is given to the *kāṁpus i.e.*, the agriculturists who were the beneficiaries of the exemption granted by the king on the occasion of his coronation.

It is known from an inscription of Rājēndra I from Kāḷahasti dated in the 4th year of his reign (= 1016 A.D.) that Śōḷaśikhāmaṇi-terinda valaṅgai vēḷaikkār̤ar, a *śir̤udanam* made a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity Tirukkāḷatti-mahādēva for the merit of Śiṅgaṇ Kulamāṇikkaṇ, a soldier belonging to the Edirilichōḷa-terinda valaṅgai vēḷaikkāṟar of the *śiṟudanam*, who died in a feud with the Iḷaiyarāja-Uttama-terinda valaṅgai vēḷaikkāṟar (regiment), and for the merit of [Iḷaiyarāja]-Uttama-terinda valaṅgai vēḷaikkāṟa[r*].[17]

The *vēḷaikkāṟas* are known to us as dedicated soldier-guards attending on specified duties involving often the protection of the king's person and property. The present inscription records a feud between two persons belonging to two different regiments of *vēḷaikkāṟas*, the one named after *Edirilichōḻa* and the other named after *Iḷaiyarāja i.e.*, the crown-prince. Since one of them died as a result of the feud, the other was enjoined to contribute sheep towards the maintenance of a lamp. This follows the well-known normal pattern of justice obtained in those days of demanding the cost of lamp in expiation of the sin of killing a person inadvertantly. There does not seem to have been any departure in this pattern of justice even in respect of such dedicated soldier guards who cannot be expected to engage themselves in such feuds whatever the undisclosed reasons may be.

Another inscription from the same place dated in the 43rd year (= 1112-13 A.D.) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I records a gift of a lamp by Paḷḷi Aṅgāḍi Ayyāṟaṉ, one of the ...śōḻat-terinda-viḷḷigaḷ (archers or bowmen), for the benefit of his brother Śōṟuḍaiyāṉ.[18]

A record from Kāḷahasti dated in the 27th year (= 1204-05 A.D.) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III records an undertaking given by three individuals to provide for the offerings (*tirumandira-pōṟagam*) in the months Puraṭṭāśi, Paṅguṇi and Vaiyāśi (Vaigāśi) to the deity, for the benefit of their caste and themselves. The record does not specify the caste to which they belong.[19]

The Iḍaṅgai-mahā-śēṉaiyār of Chandragiri region met at *Iḍaṅgai mīkāmaṉ-tiruvāśal* and decided to grant income from certain taxes to the temple of Vijayālīśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār at Vaḻakkuṇipūṇḍi in Tirukkaḍikai-nāḍu in Tirukkaḍikai-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḻa-maṇḍalam. This is recorded in an inscription from Vaḷakaṇāmpūṇḍi, Tiruttani taluk and dated in the cyclic year Naḷa, Āvaṇi in the reign of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harihararāya, who may be identified with Harihara II.[20]

Iḍaṅgai-mahā-śēṉaiyār were apparently the military wing of the Iḍaṅgai communities and were stationed in their own cantonments around Chandragiri which was a fortified town throughout the reign periods of the Vijayanagara kings. The commanding officers of this army had the right of collecting local cess on the lands and the villages set apart for their maintenance. Consequently we find them granting the income from taxes collected from those places to the temple named in the inscriptions. This gives an instance of the control over the specified area by the regiments composed of the members recruited from Iḍaṅgai caste. This control included the powers of administration including the collection, the exemption and the assignment of income from taxes from the areas under them.

An inscription from Rāmēśvaram, Proddatur taluk, Cuddapah district dated Śaka 1432 (= 1510 A.D.) records the exemption from marriage tax (*peṇḍli-suṅkaṁ*) on all castes in many divisions such as Ghanagiri, Gutti-rājya, Kandanavōlu, Gaṇḍikōṭa-sthaḷa, Siddhavaṭa, Siddhapura-sīma, Chandragiri-rājya, Nāgamaṁgaḷa-sīma, Mulnāḍū (Mulki-nāḍu) Rāyadurga etc., in the Vijayanagar kingdom by Sāḷuva-Timmappayya, Gōvindayya and [Aḍapi]-Nāyaniṅgāru under the orders (*ānati*) of king Kṛishṇarāya.[21]

A similar remission of the tax on the different communities or professions (*nānā-vṛitulavāru*) in the different *sīmas* in Kaṁrn-nāḍu was made on the representation made

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by Tippana, son of Nāgi-nāyuḍu, Chōlagāni Tātana and Būvana, son of Golla Kasavana that the celebration of the marriages were affected on account of the *peṇḍli-suṅkamu.* The order in respect of this exemption by the king issued to Sāḷuva Timmarusayya and Ādepa-nāyaka in Śaka 1432 (= 1510 A.D.) is recorded in an inscription from Raṅgasamudram, Madanapalle taluk.[22]

An inscription of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya from Nārāyaṇavanam, Puttur taluk dated Śaka 1473 (= 1551 A.D.) records an undertaking given by the *sthānattār* of the temple of Ambaliṅgam-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār in Nārāyaṇapuram in Tiruvaṭṭiyūr-nāḍu in Kuṉṟavaṟttaṇa-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam, by Nayināchāri, son of Ādiperiyavaṉ, a *kammāḷa* of this village, to provide for food offerings to the deity Aṁbaliṅgam-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār, after receiving 40 *paṇam* from the latter, for the merit of his community (*jātiyār*) and his parents.[23]

This is a rare instance of a donation being made for the merit of a community, in this case, the community of *kammāḷa* (the artisan). *Kammāḷa* is the Tamil adaptation of *karmāra* and *karmāraka* which stands for the entire artisan community who live by professional skills obtained by manual labour (*karma*).

A few inscriptions from Chittoor district give us some ideas about the position of women in society, whether as members of the class called *dēvaraḍiyār* or as members of the royal family.

A record of Kulōttuṅga I from Kāḷahasti dated in his 18th year (= 1087-88 A.D.) refers to the enquiry made by an officer of the king into the affairs of the temple pertaining to the services of some of the *dēvaraḍiyār* who had been forced to work in the royal household. It is further stated that on the representation of this officer, the king ordered the retransfer of these women to the temple of Kāḷahastīśvaram. It is stated that these *dēvaraḍiyār* had been branded with a distinguishing mark (*ilaichchiṉai* = Sanskrit: *lāñchchhana*) as belonging to the king's retinue, which had to be erased before the *śūla* mark could be branded on them to signify their restoration to the service in the Śiva temple.[24] This instance reveals the existence of the practice of branding even women, thus indicating the extent of the control exercised by society over them.

It is known from an inscription from Kāḷahasti that a vow was made by a daughter of Śīyagaṅga, bearing the title *Yādavakulamādēvi,* that if she survived Ghaṭṭiyadēva *alias* Yādavarāyadēva, she would become the servant of the queens of Ghaṭṭiyadēva, described as the daughters of Pottappichōḻamārāśar and that if the latter survived, they should become the servants of her own servant.[25]

This inscription illustrates how the women of those times considered their survival after their husband's death as something disgraceful and this sense of abhorrence has driven the two ladies to swear mutually that the one will become the slave's slave of the other in case of their survival after their husband *i.e.*, the Yādavarāya chief. Though we have no means of knowing whether this was the common practice among all classes of people, it is possible to surmise that the example set up by these dignified ladies might have been followed by most of the common people.

RELIGION

Chittoor district is famous for its two religious centres Kāḷahasti and Tirupati. Tirupati was known in early times as Vēṅgaḍam often being referred to as the northern boundary of the Tamil country. The Tamil speaking region is stated to have had the Vēṅgaḍam in the north and the Kumari in the south as the boundaries (*Vaḍavēṅgaḍam-Tenkumari-āy-iḍait-Tamiḻ-kūṟu-nal ulagam*).

This name Vēṅgaḍam was prevalent in the early centuries of the christian era and is stated to have housed the god *Neḍiyōn*,[27] the high one *i.e.*, the Vishṇu. We do not get any such reference correspondingly to Kāḷahasti, obviously because the reference to Vēṅgaḍam was relevant in connection with the description of the boundary. No monuments of the early period have survived in these two places. We have no direct or contemporary epigraphical evidence about the religious activities. Yet Tamil literature comes to our rescue in the case of both these centres. The later Śaiva work, *Periyapurāṇam* narrates the life story of Kaṇṇappa-nāyaṉār. This devotee is stated to have been born as the son of a chieftain among the hunters in the region of Pottappi and to have strayed into the place of the central deity of Kāḷahasti in the course of a hunting expedition, only to experience a flash of devotion and attachment to the principal deity of Kāḷahasti. The scene of this event which should have happened before the 9th century when nāyaṉār was canonised in the Śaiva hagiology, was placed on the northern borders of Chittoor district from across Pottappi in Rajampet taluk, Cuddapah district. Similarly in the case of Tirupati we come across numerous compositions of the *Āḻvārs* praising the deity as *Vēṅgaḍattāṉ*.[28] Though there is no direct reference to their visits to that place, their statements that they enjoyed the vision of this deity in various forms lead us to surmise that they poured out these hymns in the presence of this god. Therefore, it is evident that both Kāḷahasti and Tirupati were important centres of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism respectively.

Some of the hymns sung by Poygai Āḻvār describe the deity at Tirupati as a combination of both Hari (Vishṇu) and Hara (Śiva) attesting to a catholicity of spirit. This requires some explanation. Poygai Āḻvār, the author of these poems is one of the twelve canonised saints in Vaishṇava hagiology. But this Āḻvār belongs to a period much earlier to the times than the one when Vaishṇavism had to contend against the only other religion *viz.*, Śaivism.

This catholicity had helped the religions based on Vedic thoughts to put down the non-vedic religions such as Buddhism and Jainism. The disappearance of the Kaḷabhras, the consequent emergence of the powerful dynasties of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, the powerful support of the early *nāyanmārs* such as Jñānasambandar and Appar—all these factors contributed to the strengthening of the faiths based on the *Vēdas*. With the weakening of Buddhism and Jainism rivalry between Vaishṇavism and Śaivism commenced. There was a proliferation of Śaivism giving room for the emergence of six sects such as Pāśupata, Kāḷāmukha, Kāpālika etc., in this part of the country. This is evident from an inscription, though of a later period.

This inscription from Toṇḍaimānāḍ,[29] Kalahasti taluk dated in the 34th year (= 940-41 A.D.) of Madirai-koṇḍa kōparakēsari *i.e.*, Parāntaka I records the gift of 105 *kaḷañju* of gold by Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita-bhaṭārar, for feeding one thousand devotees made up of 200 *tapasvins* of six religious sects including *mahāvratis*, 300 brāhmaṇas and 500 devotees of several religions on all the seven days of a festival.

The *sabhaiyār* and *nagarattār* of Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr gave an undertaking to Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita-bhaṭārar, who was in charge of the sepulchral temple (*paḷḷipaḍai*) of Kōdaṇḍarāmīśvaram *alias* Ādityēśvaram to carry out the endowment as stipulated. It is also stated that the *mahāvratigaḷ* residing at the *paḷḷipaḍai*, the *piridiviṭaṅka gaṇapperumakkaḷ* of Tiruppaṉṟīśvaram in Kāvirippākkam and the supervising official (*kaṇkāṇi)* of the *panmāhēśvarar* were required to watch the proper execution of the endowment. The contents of this inscription as given above bear out the importance of this temple as a centre where the *mahāvratigaḷ* were in control of the affairs in this temple. Vāgīśvara-paṇḍita-bhaṭārar was apparently the chief among them. These *mahāvratigaḷ* are referred to as forming a part of the ascetics belonging to the six *samayas* which are not defined. Since the devotees of several religions (*samayas*) are mentioned separately later, these six *samayas* clearly refer to the inner schools of Śaivism including the *mahāvratigaḷ*. The word *mahāvratigaḷ* has been used in different regions and at different times to refer to Kāḷāmukhas and Kāpālikas.[30] But the context of our inscription points to the six *samayas*[31] being *Mahāvrati*, *Vāma*, *Bhairava*, *Pāśupata*, *Kāḷāmukha* and *Kāpālika*. A monastery for the Kāḷāmukha ascetics endowed with a feeding charity by the Vēḷīr chief Bhūti *alias* Vikramakēsari is known to have existed at Koḍumbāḷur in the latter half of the 9th century.[32] The several other religious cults mentioned above evidently refer to *Śākta*, *Kaumāra* etc.

Thus, we find that besides Tirupati and Kāḷahasti which fostered Vaishṇavism and Śaivism respectively, Toṇḍaimāṇāḍ was also a centre where the *mahāvratis* were flourishing in the 10th century.

This temple at Toṇḍaimānāḍ, described as *paḷḷipaḍai*, was named after Kōdaṇḍa-rāma *alias* Āditya as Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvaram alias Ādityēśvaram. This Kōdaṇḍarāma *alias* Āditya has been identified with Chōḷa Āditya I who is known to have died at Toṇḍaimānāṟṟūr.[33] This is the only instance of a temple erected over the mortal remains of a royal personage in Chittoor district. A nearly contemporaneous inscription from the far South engraved on the walls of a *paḷḷipaḍai* temple refers to a monastery of the *mahāvratigaḷ*.[34] This inscription from Paḷḷimaḍam, Aruppukkottai taluk, Ramanathapuram district found engraved on the west wall of the Kālanāthasvāmin temple dated in the 7th year opposite to the 4th year in the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya (*c*. 940-62 A.D.), 'who took the head of the Chōḷa', *i.e.*, *Śōḻanṟalaikoṇḍa* refers to the *maṭha* of *mahāvratigaḷ* attached to the temple of Sundarapāṇḍya-Īśvaram, a *paḷḷipaḍai* in Tiruchchuḻiyal, a *dēvadāna* in Parittikkuḍināḍu and the gift made to it. The unorthodox practice of erecting such temples over mortal remains coincides very well with the spread of the sects of Śaivism like *mahāvratigaḷ*, etc. The fact that the *mahāvratigaḷ* were in control of this temple seems to suggest that the introduction of this practice mentioned above was probably due to the influence of this sect.

This inscription gives the details of provision made for food offerings and other connected expenditure for the festival of seven days. There is a reference also to provisions made for the conduct of the festival called *Indraviḻā*. The celebration of *Indraviḻā* is first known to us from *Śilappadikāram*. Its survival in the 10th century is interesting, though this happens to be the only reference recorded in epigraphy.

In ancient times, in the Tamil country it appears that a Chōḷa king by name Tūṅg-eyil-eṟinda toḍittōṭ-śembiyaṉ, introduced Indra's festival to be celebrated annually in his capital city Pūmpuhār. The duration of the festival was twenty-eight days. The festival continued to be celebrated by succeeding kings, as it came to be thought that by not celebrating it, the Catukkabūtam, engaged on the orders of Indra to check sin and sinners, would leave the city, leading it to desolation and ruins.[35]

The Avilāla inscription of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla dated in his 18th year is quite interesting. It refers to the *Śivaliṅgachalana* in the temple of Kavilīśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār at Avilāli. The reasons which resulted in this *Śivaliṅgachalana* are not given. The *nāṭṭār* brought this fact to the notice of the *mahēśvaras* of the Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār temple and held a meeting at Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar-*tirukkāvaṇam*. The *nāṭṭār* also informed the *mahēśvaras*, of the arrangements, which include *śattimugam*, *tirumugam* and *sādhanam* for installing the *liṅga*, and the people who know the method of erecting the *liṅga* and provided for food offerings.[36] The disturbance in the position of the *liṅga* in the temple was sufficient enough to attract the attention of the *nāṭṭār* who made sincere efforts to provide for proper reinstallation of the *liṅga*.

In Vaishṇava hagiology, Vaishṇavite centres are described as *tirupatis* as they are sanctified by Vaishṇava Āḻvārs sung in their hymns. There are 108 such places. While all these centres are known as *tirupatis*, Vēṅgaḍam is the only place now known by the name Tirupati. The early Āḻvārs *viz.*, Poygai-Āḻvār, Bhūtattāḻvār and Pēy-Āḻvār while speaking of the presiding deity of the shrine at this place as Vishṇu, undoubtedly refers to the place by the name Vēṅgaḍam or Tiruvēṅgaḍam in their hymns. Āḻvārs of the later period like Tirumaḻisai-Āḻvār, Nammāḻvar and others have sung in glowing terms about the place and the deity in their sacred hymns. There is no reference in their verses to the place by the name Tirupati.

The earliest epigraphical reference to the name Tirupati occurs in an inscription[37] of Rājarāja III dated in his 19th year (= 1234-35 A.D.). This name is not met with earlier in the available records from Tirumala and Tirupati. In the earlier records of the Pallava period from Tiruchchāṉūr the place is referred to as Tiruvēṅgaḍam as indicated by a record of Dantivarman dated in his 51st regnal year (= 847 A.D.).[38]

Even though the name of the place Vēṅgaḍam ceased to be used and the name Tirupati became prominent, the deity was always called variously as Tiruvēṅgaḍam-uḍaiyāṉ, Tiruvēṅgaḍattu emberumāṉaḍigaḷ, etc. It may be also noted that the name Tiruvēṅgaḍak-kōṭṭam which was in use till a very late date as 1544 A.D.[39] signifies that the name Tiruvēngaḍam was still in use in a restricted way.

The temples belonging to particular religious denominations attracted the adherence of those religions in large numbers on the occasions of festivals and other sacred days. These pilgrims were composed of several types of people such as brāhmaṇas reciting Vēdas, ascetics engaged in meditation and prayer, lay devotees offering their services on the occasions, etc. The basic need of providing food for this big mass of people had prompted philanthropists belonging to particular religion to establish *maṭhas* headed by well-known ascetics. Therefore, we find the establishment of many such *maṭhas* often attached to temples so that they may perform the basic functions of providing food for the itinerant pilgrims and fostering the religious fervour. The instances described above give us this picture of the religious conditions.

An inscription from Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk dated in the 47th year (= 1106-07 A.D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I refers to a *maṭha* for the *āṇḍār* (serving devotees) of the temple and records the gift of land for its maintenance by Arayaṉ Śīyaṟudēvar of Arumbākkam in Maṇavil-kōṭṭam by purchase from the village assembly of Nilaikaḍaṟpākkam in Perumbēḍu in Paiyyūr-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam.[40]

Another inscription from Kāḷahasti dated in the 15th year (= 1230-31 A.D.) of Rājarāja III records that Vīra Nārasiṅgadēvan Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ *alias* Yādavarāyaṉ built a *maṭha* on the hill in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-nāyanār and made a grant of the village Peṇṇayaṇpaṭṭu in Perumpūṇḍi-nāḍu inclusive of various taxes at the request of Śūrappa-nāyakkaṇ, a veḷḷāḷa of Viṇṇamalai in Kīḷaippaṭṭaya-nāḍu, for feeding the *śrīmāhēśvaras* of the *maṭha*.[41]

It is known from an inscription from Tirumala[42] assignable to a period after 1315 A.D. (see, the discussion in the Yādavarāyas) that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya, another Yādavarāya chief, granted the village Poṅgaḷūr *alias* Śiṅgaṇanallūr in Iḷattūr-nāḍu in order to enable Immaḍi Rāhuttarāyaṇ Siṅgaya-deṇṇāyakar, to institute a festival, a special service called *Sitakaragaṇḍan-sandhi* to god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṇ and for feeding 32 *śrīvaishṇavas* in the *maṭha* called *Sitakaragaṇḍan-maṭha*.

An inscription[43] in Telugu language and characters of 13th century A.D. from Mēḍikurti, Vayalpad taluk, engraved on the slab of Lakshmīnarasiṁha temple mentions Śāntaśivadēśika of Nava Gōlakī-maṭha and seems to record a gift of land made for his memorial. The perpetuation of the memory of a Śaiva teacher in the northern part of Chittoor district not far from Kāḷahasti, a great centre of Śaivism is an indication of the hold Śaivism had on the people.

A later inscription dated Śaka 1323 (= 1401-02 A.D.) reign of Harihara II from Kāḷahasti records the installation and consecration of a *grāma-dēvatā* named Śrīkāḷahastinātha at Kāḷahasti itself by Pūrṇagiri-śrīpādaṅgaḷ, the disciple of Amarēndragiri-śrīpādaṅgaḷ.[44] It is well-known that the presiding deity at Kāḷahasti was called Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-nāyanār. But this inscription states that the village deity was called Śrīkāḷahastinātha. The interest evinced by Pūrṇagiri-śrīpādaṅgaḷ in consecrating a *grāma-dēvata* reveals the interest taken by such highly placed saints in enlightening the rural folk. Śrīpādaṅgaḷ is one of the ten names of the monastic order. A still later inscription[45] dated Śaka 1459 (= 1537-38 A.D.) from Kāḷahasti records the sale of a village to the temple of Kāḷahasti-uḍaiya-nāyanār by Rudraśivāchārya to liquidate the debts he had incurred in connection with the worship and offerings to Tirumaṇigaṅgai-nāyiṇār, Nāṇmuganāyiṇār, etc., during the period of drought in the years Khara and Nandana corresponding to Śaka 1453 (= 1531 A.D.) and Śaka 1454 (= 1532 A.D.). Rudraśivāchārya was evidently a priest of the *āgamic* traditions conducting worship in the temples of Tirumaṇigaṅgai-nāyiṇār and Nāṇmuga-nāyiṇār. The tenacity with which he was conducting the worship in times of drought and the sincerity with which he repaid the debts by the sale of a village to the authority of the main temple speak volumes about the interest taken by the custodians of temples in the welfare of society.

An inscription from Rāmagiri, Tiruvallur taluk dated in the 8th year (= 1222-23 A.D.) (this regnal year has been taken to be the year of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III) records the gift of the villages Tirukkāḷattidēvanallūr and Muṇaimēḍu *alias* Tirukkāḷattidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Chēla-nāḍu as a tax-free *kāṇi* for the merit of a certain Svāmidēvar, the preceptor to the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings.[46] It contains also a *praśasti* in which expressions *Pīṭhadēvī-labdha*[*va*]*raprasāda*……, *Kāñchīpuravarādhīśvara*,[47] etc. These expressions indicate (1) the name of a tutelary deity Pīṭhadēvī of his family and (2) the close connections this chief had with Kāñchīpuram. The identity of this Pīṭhadēvī is not clear. The name of the *pīṭha* is not given. The identification of this deity with Piḍāridēvī by an author is not however justified.[48]

This deity is, obviously associated with some powerful *Śākta-pīṭha* which cannot be however identified in the present state of our knowledge.

The name Svāmidēvar is one that was adopted by a successive line of pontiffs who acted as advisers on matters, mostly religious, that was brought to their attention by the kings of the various dynasties in South India including the Chōḷas,[19] Pāṇḍyas, etc. It is therefore no wonder that Yādavarāya also honoured him with such lavish gifts as recorded in this inscription.[50]

It has been pointed out above that with the disappearance of the Kaḷabhras, the dormant religions stemming from the Vedic thoughts reinforced by further streams of culture from the north, mainly Śaivism and Vaishṇavism began to flourish and that at times it led to vigorous rivarly. The catholicity of some of the royal families, the continued patronage of some others among the royal families and the interest of the large following that each religion had, enabled them to spread. Tirupati, being a very ancient centre where Vishṇu was worshipped, had attracted the Vaishṇava devotees including the famous Āḻvārs. The visit of the early Āḻvārs has been dealt with above.

A later work *Veṅkaṭāchala Itihāsamālā* of Anantārya whose date and authorship are not vouchsafed, refers to three visits of Rāmānuja, the great *śrīvaishṇava* teacher.[51] His second visit considered to be momentous on account of the fact that the *utsava* image in the Gōvindarājaperumāḷ temple at Chidambaram was brought to Tirupati and that a temple for Gōvindarāja was erected at Lower Tirupati by Vīra Nārasiṅga Yādavarāya at the instance of Rāmānuja. There is no corroborative evidence from epigraphy for this. That the Yādavarāya chiefs were great devotees of the deity at Tirupati becomes clear from their description as *Vēṅkaṭanātha-pādārādhaka* in the inscriptions.[52] But neither Yādavarāya's attachment to this deity nor Rāmānuja's visit had caused any great spurt in the religious activities at Tirupati. There are however a few references to the installation of images of Rāmānuja or Uḍaiyavar or Emberumāṉār. This by itself does not seem to have led to any mass involvement. It is shown below in the sequel as to when and how the spurt in the Vaishṇava religious activities began.

A statistical study of the inscriptions of Kāḷahasti and Tirupati with a view to assess the relative conditions of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, chronologically speaking, is relevant at this stage. Out of the 218 inscriptions so far copied from Kāḷahasti[53] the dynastic break up among 207 will be Chōḷa (including Yādavarāyas) 142, Saṅgama 9, Sāḷuva, Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu 56. Out of the 1070 inscriptions copied from Tirumala and Tirupati,[54] the dynastic break up among 888 will be Pallava 6, Chōḷa (including Yādavarāyas) 78, Pāṇḍya 12, Saṅgama 50, Sāḷuva 138, Tuḷuva 592 and Āravīḍu 12 (down to 1600 A.D.).

A comparison of these two tables brings out the conspicuous proliferation of Vaishṇava religious activities at Tirupati during the period of the rule of the Sāḷuva, Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu houses. The existence of only 56 records of these at Kāḷahasti as against 742 at Tirumala and Tirupati speaks eloquently in this regard. The reason is not far to seek. The Chōḷa leanings towards Śaivism, the attachment to Śaivism of the royal house of the Saṅgamas as attested to by their sign-manual *śrī Virūpāksha*[55] and the leanings of the Sāḷuva, Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu more towards Vaishṇavism, as attested to by their liberal donations to Tirupati temples are too well-known to be recounted here. The royal patronage extended by the later Vijayanagara kings to Tirupati released a vigorous movement resulting in intense religious activity.

A number of Vaishṇava *maṭhas* were established during the reign of Saṅgama, Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva kings at Tirumala and Tirupati. These Vaishṇava *maṭhas* gained

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status more so when the heads of such institutions were honoured and patronised by the Vijayanagara kings.[56] Liberal gifts were made for the maintenance of these *maṭhas.* The *sthānattār* of the Tirumala temple received the grants of money etc., undertaking to carry out the endowments made for the maintenance of and the distribution of food and other services in the *maṭhas* managed by Jīyars and Ekāki-śrīvaishṇavas. An inscription from Tirumala dated Śaka 1314 (=1393 A.D.) records that the *Ariśaraṇālaiyan-maṭha* at Tirupati has to be managed by the Ekāki-śrīvaishṇavas after the death of Mullai Tiruvēṅgaḍajīyar.[57]

The *Paṅkayachchelvi-maṭha* was also to be taken over by the Ekāki-śrīvaishṇavas after the death of Emberumānār-jīyar. This is referred to in an inscription dated Śaka 1367 (=1445 A.D.).[58]

It is mentioned in another record from Tirumala dated Śaka 1415 (=1494 A.D.) that *Śrīkaraṇa-maṭha* is located in the *sannadhi* street at Tirupati.[59] The Ekāki-śrīvaishṇavas acted as the agent (*kaṟtar*) of yet another *maṭha* known as *Tirumaḷiśaippirāṉ-maṭha* according to the inscriptions of Tirumala[60] and Tirupati.[61] The former record is dated Śaka 1416 corresponding to 1494 A.D. Later, during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, a number of Vaishṇava *maṭhas* have been founded. A record from Tirumala dated Śaka 1426 (=1504 A.D.) mentions a flower garden called Tiruvēṅgaḍanāthaṉ-tirunandavanam founded by *Anusandhānam* Tiruvēṅgaḍa-jīyar and *Tiruvēṅgaḍanāthaṉ-maṭha* at Tirumala. It may be said that this *maṭha* also was established by the same jīyar.[62]

The earliest occurrence to Vaṇ-Śaṭhagōpaṉ-maṭha also called *Vaṇ-Śaṭhagōpa-jīyar-maṭha* occurs in an inscription from Tirupati dated Śaka 1438 (=1516 A.D.). Besides, this record refers also to *Pēraruḷāḷaṉ-maṭha* and *Tiruvēṇākkaḷ-kīḻ-maṭha.*[63] Two other inscriptions from Tirumala of a similar date *viz.*, Śaka 1436 (=1514 A.D.) state that *Deyvanāyakaṉ-maṭha*[64] and the *Tiruvāḻiparappiṉāṉ-maṭha*[65] were managed by Ekāki-śrīvaishṇavas. But in the case of *Tiruvāḻiparappiṉāṉ-maṭha,* it was to be managed by the Ekāki-śrīvaishṇavas only after the death of Ekāki Tiruvēṅgaḍam-uḍaiyāṉ.

Vyāsarāya-maṭha was one of the important *maṭhas* established by Vyāsa-tīrtha Śrīpāda-uḍaiyar on the site granted to him by Kṛishṇadēvarāya in Śaka 1445 (=1524 A.D.)[66]

From the period of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha a number of festivals were instituted in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati. During the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, not only the old festivals such as *Adhyayanōtsavam*, 1390 A.D., December 8,[67] *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* (Brahmōtsavam), 1445 A.D. December 15,[68] were continued but also new festivals were introduced. They are—*Pāḍiy-vēṭṭai* festival, 1456 A.D., June 24;[69] *Pavitratirunāḷ* or *Pavitrōtsavam*, 1464 A.D., January 18;[70] *Tiruppaḷḷi-ōḍat-tirunāḷ*, 1467 A.D., December 28;[71] *Aṇṇa Uñjaṟtirunāḷ*, 1473 A.D., June 15;[72] *Ugādi* and *Dīpāvaḷi* festivals, 1491 A.D., June 27,[73] and *Uṟi-aḍi* festival, 1492 A.D., September 2.[74] Achyutarāya-mahārāya is known to have instituted festivals called Lakshmīdēvi-mahōtsavam for Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyāṉ and Alaimēlmaṅgai Nāchchiyār in 1535 A.D., December 26.[75] On the same date another festival for Rāma was introduced on the Punarvasu *nakshatra* day. During the reign of Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya a number of festivals were instituted and the festivals introduced earlier during the Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva periods were conducted in a more elaborate scale.[76] Some of the festivals, introduced by this king are *Vanabhōjana* festival, 1545 A.D., July 3;[77] *Pallavōtsavam*, 1545 A.D., July 5;[78] *Kalyāṇōtsavam*, 1554 A.D., February 19;[79] *Phalōtsavam*, 1561 A.D., December 15;[80] *Vaivāhikōtsavam*, 1547 A.D., August 17;[81] *Sahasranā-*

mārchana festival, 1557 A.D., May 10,[82] and *Ratha-Saptamī,* 1564 A.D., January 26.[83] It is not difficult to imagine the size of the gatherings that should have been attracted by these festivals. The religious enthusiasm of these people should have created both an ópportunity and a problem. It is there that the *maṭhas* stepped in to catch hold of the opportunities of channelising the religious enthusiasm and to solve the problem of feeding them. It is in this context that besides the role of the temple itself and the *maṭhas*, the role of Rāmānujakūṭas appearing on the scene at this stage has to be judged.

The practice of feeding *śrīvaishṇavas* continued in the Vijayanagar period resulted in the establishment of a number of Rāmānuja-kūṭas.

We get references to this institution, from the inscriptions of Tirumala and Tirupati from the period of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. It is stated in one of the records of this king dated Śaka 1378 (=1456 A.D.) that he granted the levies in cash and in kind from the village Ālipuṟam in Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu, formerly given by himself as *sarvamānya* to the deity Tiruvēṅgaḍam-uḍaiyāṉ, for food offerings to the same god and also laid down that the food offerings should be utilised for feeding *śrīvaishṇavas* daily at the Rāmanuja-kūṭa, built by the king in Tirumala and Tirupati for his own merit and presided over by Kandāḍai Rāmaṉujayyaṉ, disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa jīyar.[84]

Another Sāḷuva chief Parvvatarāja, son of Sāḷuvarāja is mentioned as a donor of the cess from the lands at Pāḍi, irrigated by a canal, allotted for food offerings to god Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyāṉ. This gift referred to in an inscription from Tirumala, Chandragiri taluk dated Śaka 1387 (=1465 A.D.) is made under a stipulation that portions of the food offerings should be distributed to the person maintaining the *maṇḍapa*, erected at *mu[ḻa]ṅgāl-muṟippāṉ* (*i.e.*, the steep point where the knee-joint will be strained) by the donor for his own merit, the servant at the water-shed at that place and to the *śrīvaishṇavas* tending the *śeṅgaḷunīr* garden, dedicated by Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyaṅgār, the agent of the Rāmānuja-kūṭa.[85]

Another inscription of Sāḷuva *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Narasiṅgayyadēva-mahā-arasu from Tirupati in Kannaḍa is dated Śaka 1389 (=1467 A.D.). It records an order of this king to the *sthānika* of Tirupati to arrange for the conduct of worship in the Gōvindarājaperumāḷ temple at Tirupati on the lines prescribed for the god Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha on the Tirumala hill, and for the distribution of food offerings to the *śrīvaishṇavas* both local (*svadēsi*) and from outside (*paradēsi*) in the Gōvindarāja-sannadhi and in the Rāmānuja-kūṭa (feeding-house) under the supervision of Kandāḍai Rāmanujayya and his disciples. It is also stipulated that under his supervision the *Chāttāda-śrīvaishṇavas*, rendering service to god Tiruveṅgaḷanātha were to get portions of the food offerings in the Rāmānuja-kūṭa established by himself on the Tirumala hill.[86] This practice of feeding the *śrīvaishṇavas* in the Rāmānujakūṭa continued right upto the reign of Veṅkaṭa I.

EPIGRAPHICAL LANGUAGE

In the present work no attempt has been made to study the literary works of this region. What has been discussed below is limited only to the language of the inscriptions and the literary forms and styles adopted therein.

The district of Chittoor is located at a point where the cultural streams through the media of three languages join,—Kannaḍa from Kolar on the west, Telugu from

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Nellore and Cuddapah on the north and Tamil from Chingleput on the east and North Arcot from the south. The expansion of the Gaṅgas and the Noḷaṁbas towards the east from Kolar had brought in the Kannaḍa language into Punganur taluk, while the Chōḷa occupation from the south brought in its wake the Tamil language. This is of course true of Kolar also where more Tamil inscriptions are found during the Chōḷa period. Similarly, the expansion of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas and the Vaiduṁbas from the north and north-west brought in the Telugu language. Thus, the occurrence of inscriptions in a particular language followed the pattern of dynastic expansion from different directions across the peripheral areas mentioned above into the modern district of Chittoor. This development continued through the Vijayanagara period. The trilingual character is more marked in the west, north-western parts of this district.

This discussion is based on a study of occurrence of inscriptions in a particular language in specified areas.

It has been pointed out earlier that the west and north-western regions in general, the border areas in particular are subject to the influence of more than one language. A study of the languages of inscriptions of the early period in these areas is very interesting. The few available records of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu in this district are in Telugu language except for a record of Puṇyakumāra from Chippili which is in Kannaḍa.[87] Their records in the north in the district of Cuddapah are also in Telugu. During the period of their successors the Vaiduṁbas, both Telugu and Kannaḍa were used in the records. More Telugu records begin to appear from about the period of Gaṇḍatriṇētra Vīramahārāju. It is difficult to say that the influence of Telugu language in Kannaḍa records relates to western borders only. The mutual influence of the Kannaḍa and Telugu and the affinity of the roots for some of the words such as *aḷisina*, *vaḍasina*, *chiṛudeṛa*, *paḍevāla*, etc. are easily discernible about three-fourth of a century later in the records of Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeyamahārāju.[88] None of his records is in Kannaḍa.

Some of the expressions common both to Telugu and Kannaḍa are met with in the epigraphs of this period, *e.g.*, *kabba°*, the full form being *kabbada* used in the sense to denote the literary attainments.[89]

Bāṇa inscriptions are found in two languages *viz.*, Kannaḍa and Tamil. In the Puṅganūr area we come across a good number of hero-stone records mostly written in Kannaḍa language and script. We have a Tamil record of Bāṇa Vikramāditya I from Nelapalle.[90] They figure in the records of their overlords and they seem to have issued records independently as well—all of them found inscribed in Tamil. Such records are met with in Kalahasti and Chandragiri taluks. Since two languages were adopted for writing the inscriptions, it is not unlikely that the people living in this area were familiar with more than one language during one and the same period.

The Noḷaṁba records of the Puṅganūr region are all in Kannaḍa language and script, thus suggesting that the extension of the dynastic influence brought in the Kannaḍa language.

Regarding the nature of the languages which were in use in this district the available evidence pertaining to the period from 7th century to the 10th century is circumscribed by the fact that it is spread over a few inscriptions in Telugu and Kannaḍa in the northern and western portions and still fewer inscriptions in the eastern and southern portions. All the inscriptions in Telugu and Kannaḍa are on hero-stones. Most of them being short in form and being in prose contain a stereo-typed text with very little variations. They introduce the local ruler as ruling over a particular area *e.g.*, *Telugu : Tsadumbu ēḷan*[91] and *Sogaledēsamuni ēḷuvānr̤u;*[92] *Kannaḍa* : *Vaidumbakula Sāte-arasar ī-ūrāḷe*[93] and *Bālūchchoraṇi-Śūramār̤aveḷi-āḷe.*[94] Then the records go on to describe the actual fight in which the two parties are involved. Here again the same phrases such as *poḍichi paḍiya*[95] and *er̤idu bil̤dan*[96] are used in all these inscriptions. There are however very few exceptions for *e.g.*, the inscription from Veligallu contains both the Telugu and the Kannaḍa sections. It should be noted that the Telugu section which contains a matter of fact statement of the event is in prose, while the Kannaḍa section contains a eulogy in verse following the earlier literary traditions obtained in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.[97]

The following Kannaḍa verses describe the valour of the hero Chantamānadaḍi:[98]

"°urbbiyoḷ=sakaladoḷ=orbbane gaṇḍan srī-Chantaman=entum=oḷpi[ḍe]-
yan Gonti-sutarim=parākraman bal [va]ḍe Su(Śū)drakan praḷaya-dhani mutti aṇi
ye(ya)[ṁ] Kadivoṁgaṁ chalam-ar̤ivoṁgaṁ [ā]l̤umuvoṁgaṁ kuḍal-appoṁgaṁ orbbano (ne) āchā-
rjya(yya)n adar̤iṁ Kaṭṭāḷ-mānusa-gaṇḍa mannava-baṇṭaṇa(na)ṁ bīḷivōṁ [pe]ḍeyaṁ be[ḷa]-
pa bī(bi)ru[d]-appavara birudan=oḍḍal̤ivon biddha(dda) Ba(Bha)gadatti āṇi gaṇdhu(ndhu)kada ga
ṇi pokka abba(bbe)ya āl̤ma mechchin=āḷ-gaṇḍan ā[chā]rjya(ryya)-purusha ir̤i
du basam-al̤i[yade] bīḷvoran ter̤e(r̤a)[na] mechchadoṁ pisuṇara posevo kuṭhi(ṭi)...
...., etc."

The non-availability of literature in the strict sense in Telugu during this period seems to indicate that the Telugu language which was otherwise in large use was not to be utilized in a large measure for literary purpose. This is, however, a negative evidence which has to be cautiously assessed, for the simple reason that inscriptions need not always reflect contemporary literary development. The Addaṅki inscription of Eastern Chāḷukya Guṇaga Vijayāditya dated 845-46 A.D.,[99] contains a Telugu verse attesting to the existence of literary tradition though there is no literature of this period surviving to this day. A stray instance in the adjoining Cuddapah district, if not in the Chittoor district proper is met with, where the following passage occurs.[100]

°guḍiya vīnita va[chchāḷā]visa bara[sa]ḍara pasiṇḍi ku[r̤a]naya[kāpajana]sahasa
pratibala kaṇṭhaka prabhāva ga[ngi]ka Dhanumēṭi dhanyasampūrṇadaya paradana [sāṁvūjya]
dar̤in kari-nara-vara-vāji-vaksha kukshi-gumbhi-prahāri śrī maharāju.....", etc.

This passage, it may be noted, contains Sanskritic phrases arranged in poetic diction but not in verse form. Even though this passage cannot be considered to be a verse, it should be noted that it may be treated as a poor pretension of poetic diction in the mass of the stereotyped hero-stone inscriptions.

In this context a few features that reflect the interaction of these languages are noted below :

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1. The following words which are basically Tamil but might have had roots common both for Kannaḍa and Tamil are met with in Kannaḍa inscriptions of this period :

   Permānaḍigaḷ[101] = magnificient one
   kal̤ani[102] = cultivated field
   °*aḍādĕ*[103] = unrelentingly
   aṇi°[104] = regiment

2. Another set of examples where the substitution of one letter in one language into another in the other language is apparent, are given below :

   Baḍugaval̤i,[105] *Vaḍugaval̤*[106]
   paḍa(ḍā)lve[la]m[107] (*paḍai-āḷ-valam*)
   pādagaḷḷ(-ḷ)ennā-taleyā-mĕgaṇo[108]
   °*kāduḍuvonā-pāda menna-taleya-mĕgaṇamu*[109]
   °*kāduḍuvonā* (*Kāttūṭṭuvān*) = one who protects
   °*baladakai*[110]

3. Inflectional elements as found in the following examples :

   °*tōl̤ī*[111]
   avanoḍane (*avan* + *oḍu*)[112]

This interaction is a natural phenomenon of the region right through the ages. The above discussion pertains to individual inscriptions where the interaction of one language on the other was present. But during the times of the Vijayanagara kings we meet with instances where versions of the same contents are given in Telugu, Tamil, Kannaḍa and or Sanskrit. For example, an inscription of Kṛishṇadēvarāya dated Śaka 1436, Bhāva, Āshāḍha, śu 15 full-moon day, Thursday, Uttarāshāḍha-nakshatra (= 1514 A.D., July 6) is in Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa language in their respective scripts.[113]

The recording of all these three versions is evidently aimed at satisfying the devotees from all these three regions at a time when these languages and scripts tended to be far removed from each other and at a place *viz.*, Tirupati, where the pilgrims from all the three regions thronged. There is no doubt that the affinity between each of these three languages became less with the advance of time while in respect of the script they were never so close to each other.

EPIGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

Although the purpose of the inscriptions is not only to record the events of history and the grants made by the king, chief and private individuals, some of them are of literary merit being records of good composition though of conventional style. Sanskrit records of the Chittoor region are good examples of poetry. These are found engraved mostly in the temples at Tirupati and Kāḷahasti. Among the copper-plate inscriptions which are fewer in number, we find a Chōḷa record of Vīrarājēndra from Chārāla, couched in chaste and good literary style. The early period has not yielded any good poetry. But it only exposes the poetic diction in prose form.[114] (*vide* : the section on Epigraphical language). A few Sanskrit inscriptions from this region belonging to different periods are studied from the point of view of their literary value.

A few records found engraved in the Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti of the reign of Rājarāja I commence with the following verse in *Anushṭubh* metre.[115]

Etad-viśvanṛipa-śrēṇi mauli-mālōaplāḷitam [|*]
śāsanaṁ Rājarājasya-Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ [||*]

The record of Sarvajña Khaḍgamalla in *Anushṭubh* metre narrates the event describing the defeat of Vijaya in the hands of Vīra Khaḍgamalla. It also points out that the king erected a banner of victory carrying the symbol of 'Khaḍga' on it.[116]

Another record of this king is composed in the *Āryā*, *Anushṭubh* and *Mañjubhāshiṇī* metres, in which the first two verses mention the different epithets borne by Sarvajña Khaḍgamalla, while the third verse describes his valour shown in the destruction of the pride of *kalpavṛiksha* indicating the nature of his lavish gifts. The first line of the record in verse 1 in *Āryā* metre speaks of his title *Gaṇapatidatta vīra padamudra* meaning that he obtained the title *vīra* from Gaṇapati probably after defeating the enemy.[117]

Two of the inscriptions from Tirumala of Sundara Pāṇḍya, who has been identified with Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I point to the righteous method adopted by him in treating his enemy kings. His actions are well narrated in verses of *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Āryā* metres in the first record and in the verses of *Upajāti* and *Āryā* metres in another.[118]

In the former record the first two verses praises his firmness and valour exhibited by him in destroying his enemy Gaṇḍagōpāla, who swerved from the path of right conduct. This king is stated to have killed (Vīra) Gaṇḍagōpāla, who is described as *Aṁdhrēśvara* by the power of his sword, in the latter inscription containing verses in *Upajāti* and *Āryā* metres.

(lines 1-2) Vīras-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvanṛipatis-sadva
[rtma] ni[rla]ṁghinām............
(lines 4-6) °ya-
ṁ-Gaṇḍago[pā]lam-apy-antyāchāram-Amarttya-[r][āja]-sulabhaṁ-svārājyam-
ārōpayat[119]
(lines 4-7) ....nivēśayāmāsa nirasta-śa[tru]r-Aṁdhrēśvaraṁ dhāmani [dēva]
[tānām*] dēvas-Sundarapāṇḍyaḥsthāpita[vān] Vīra-Gaṇḍagōp[ālam][120]

An inscription from Tirumala containing the eulogy of Yādavarāya king Vīra Nṛisiṁhadēva and the *tulārōhaṇa* ceremony performed by him at Vēṅkaṭagiri which he embellished with gold making it equal to Suragiri, is described in the following *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre verse :[121]

(lines 1-4) jitvā saṁyati śātravān-Vasumatīm-āpūryya kīrttyā svayā pāṇaukṛitya cha
mālya-danti dhavaḷachchhatrādi chihnāṁ śriyam [|]

śrīmān=vīra-Nṛisiṁhadēva-nṛipatiḥ kṛitvā tulārōhaṇañ=chakrē Vēṁkaṭa
bhūdharaṁ Suragirēs=tulyan=tulā-kāñchanaiḥ [II]

The use of expression *pāṇaukṛitya* seems to be a mistake. In a compound only the *tvā pratyaya* becomes *tya*. So this has to be taken as a compound word. If this is a compound, it has to be explained that it is an *aluk-samāsa*.

The record of king Hōbaḷa (Ahōbala) Yādava is a small but good composition of classical poetry. This verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, after describing the *varada hasta* and the bracelets presented by him to god Śauri *i.e.*, Vishṇu, speaks of the greatness of *varada-hasta* which indicates Vaikuṇṭha, same as Veṅkaṭagiri. The figure of speech in this record is in *Utprēksha*, but redundant here.[122]

The record from Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāḷahasti has in it ten Sanskrit verses in Grantha script, probably of the 13th century, in simple and thematic poetical composition in varied metres. Verses 1, 7, 9 and 10 are in the metres respectively, of *Upajāti*, *Hariṇī*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Ruchirā*. Verses 2 and 6, 3 and 8 and 4-5 are in *Mālinī*, *Mandākrāntā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres respectively. This record with inspiring verses contains a description unfolding the devotion to god Śiva (Mahēśvara) of this place shown by saint Kaṇṇappa-nāyaṇār. The efficacy of the absolute faith that Kaṇṇappa-nāyaṇār had in Mahēśvara is made explicit when he was prevented by Pārvatī from offering his other eye to Śiva. Undoubtedly the generous attitude that Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva showed towards the devotee is well brought out in verse 9. This verse is an excellent composition describing the Ardhanārīśvara concept. The record reads as follows:[123]

1. ………..nām [1] puṇyēna kēn=āpi purā-kṛitēna adṛishṭa-
2. pūrv-ānu . . . . [pum-artth]ān siddh-āñjana[ḥ] śyāmam=idaṁ vapus=tē [1]
   Abhilashita-ka-
3. lānām=arppakō darppak-ārir=bhava-timira-nirāsī bhakta-pāthōdhivāsī [1]
   acha[la]-
4. duhitur=arddhēn=ēndranīlāyamānaḥ=sa bhavatu Maṇigaṁgātīra-chintāmaṇi
   [r]=nnaḥ [2] [Vaktr-ā]-
5. mbhōjair=mmadana-vijayin=mānanīyaṁ chaturbhir=mmāddhyē kṛitvā Giri-
   duhitaraṁ jā . . .
6. ktapāṁgam [1] aṁgair=aṁgāny=adhikamadhurāṇy=ādarāt spṛishṭam=
   akshṇōr=bhāgyāṁ . .
7. prathama-ghaṭa[ne] vigrahē nispṛihasya [3] Pūrvaṁ kirātapati-kē[śa]-samāhṛitāni
   pushpā-
8. ṇi bhūtapati-bhukta-samujjhitāni [1] piṇḍaḥ-prabhāta-samayē puratō gaṇānām
9. s-ōdvēga-bhakti-bhayam=ātanutē sva-mauḷau [4] Bhaktēshu sābhibhaya-yāna-
   dhura-
10. ndharēshu nētr-[ā]rppaṇāt kam=api dhanyataraṁ na vitaḥ(dmaḥ ?) [1] uchch-
    hishṭam=ambu ka[tha]yanti yad-asya Śam-
11. bhōḥ dēvasya nityam=abhishēka-viśuddhi-[hē]tu[ḥ*] [5] Kamalabhavakarōṭī
    sarpa-chaṁdras-srava (?)-
12. ntī-vanacharapatipādōpānadāragvalēbhyaḥ (?) [1] anitarasulabhēbhyō bhū-
13. shaṇēbhyaḥ Purārēr=atanuma nama uktiṁ Kāḷahastīśvarasya [6] Bhavati
    bhuvanē satya-

14. ṁ dhanyaḥ sa ēva vaṭadrumaḥ Kanaka-mukharī mūlaṁ yasy=āvasiñchati
vāraṇā [1] api cha śikhara-
15. ṁ chūḍāsindhus=taraṁga-paraṁparā salila-visaraiś=Śaṁbhō[ḥ*] śrī-Kāḷaha-
stigiristhi-
16. tēḥ [7] Aṁgē śaila-pratihata-gatēś=Śaṁkarādrērmukharyāś=Śaṁbhōr=ātma-
pratiphala-
17. natō bhūshaṇaṁ ch=āmbaraṁ cha [1] Kāḷō hastī dvayam=api bhavat-pūjanē
kalpyamānē ni-
18. tyaṁ saṁpāda[ya]ta iti mē [ni]śchitā buddhir=āsīt [8] Ādāy=ēkshaṇam=
ēkam=arppitavataḥ pū-
19. rvaṁ tatō=anyaj=javāt uddharttu[ṁ] vyavasā[yi]nas=[sa]-vimukhaṁ hastaṁ
Nishāda-prabhō[ḥ*] [1] Kāmaplō-
20. shaṇa Kāḷahastivasatē[ḥ*] Kāntā-[vi]miśr-ātmanō vāmas=tē niyataṁ rurōdha
21. valayī pāṇis=tadā vatsalaḥ [9] Apāsṛijad=dahana-mukhaṁ śilīmukhaṁ pralam-
bayat=Sura-
22. giri Kārmmukaṁ karam [1] puratrayē tridaśa-dṛiśām=agōcharē samunnamaty=
api sa mahān Mahē-
23. śvaraḥ [10]

The following prose passage describing the eulogy of king Kṛishṇadēvarāya is a good specimen for the use of *anuprāsa* (*Śabdālaṅkāra*)[124]

°vasaṁtamahōtsavēnasavēna-kṛitārthita-viprasārthēnasārthēnanikhila nṛipati mūrdhanyēna-dhanyēna Nāgāṁbikā-Narasa-nṛipanaṁdanēna nikhilahriday ānaṁdanēnasamara mukha-vijayēna vijayēna diśāṁ . . . .

Another verse inscription of this king in *Anushṭubh* metre contains *slēsha i.e.*, pun in the use of the expression *kaṭaka,* meaning 'bracelet' in one sense and Kaṭakapuri (the modern Cuttack, capital city of Orissa). The poet has drawn our attention to the fact that either in regard to the gift of a jewelled *prabhāvaḷi* offered by the king to the deity Vēṅkaṭēśa, which was gladly accepted by the Lord or in the Kaṭaka (Kaṭakapuri) bestowed on this king by the god there is nothing unnatural. In fact the poet means that the present made by the deity should be conceived as more valuable.

The Chārāla inscriptions[125] of Vīrarājēndradēva daṭed Śaka 991 (= 1069-70 A.D.) in Sanskrit and Tamil languages is written in Grantha and Tamil characters. The Sanskrit portion of the record contains 81 verses in various metres and is identical with the Kanyākumāri inscription of this king. The seal of this record obliterated in few places has the following legend and in the *Anushṭubh* metre all along its margin.

Viśvair=vviśvambharādhīśair=[nnanditair]=vandita[n=nv=ida]m [1*]
Śāsanaṁ Vīrarājēndra-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [11*]

The composer of this grant was Chandrabhūshaṇa-paṇḍita, also called Śaśibhūshaṇa-paṇḍita. The record was completed by Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja and engraved by Tachchāchāryan Śaṅkaraṇ Kāḍāḍi *alias* Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ. In this record the first 27 verses give the Purāṇic genealogy. The poet invokes Śiva in verses 1-3 which is full of *anuprāsa*. The description of Rāma given in verses 25-27 in *Mālinī*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Mandākrāntā* are beautiful and are a fine piece of composition following the classicial style. Following the Purāṇic genealogy, the legendary and partly historic pedigree has been traced by the poet. He gives a graphic description of the place of sport that a legenary Chōḷa king had on the banks of Kāvērī river. The following verses describe Rāma at length :

Verse 25

Pitari tanaya-vṛittaṁ bhrātṛishu bhrātṛi-vṛittam yuvatishu pati-vṛittaṁ śātravē
śa[tru]-vṛittam I
Munishu nṛipati-vṛittam bāndhavē bāndhu-vṛittam sakalam=Akhilanāthaś-
śikshayāmāsa lōkam II

Verse 26

Na krōdhēna jaghāna Rākshasa-patiṁ kāmēna na prēyasīṁ sa pratyāhṛitavān=
mahīśa-charitaṁ kārtsnyēna chakrē param I
nō chēt=kin=tapasi sthitaṁ sa Malayē śūdrañ=jaghān=āsinā kiṁ v=ānatyaya-
kānti-dhṛity-upachitān=tatyāja Sītām punaḥ II

Verse 27

Sētun=nētuṁ kapi-balam=asau baddhavān=naikam=abdhau chakrē vaktr-ētara-
guṇa-nidhir=ddharma-sē[tū]n=aśēshān I
kētuṁ hētuṁ vibudha-vipadāṁ vyāpadā[n=dā]navīnāṁ Rāmaṁ kāmaṁ kathayat
janas=sad-guṇānāmnidhānam II

The poet then proceeds to describe the significant events in the historical portion commencing from verse 53. The verse in *Rathōddhatā* metre (verse 66) exhibits the skill of the poet by the metrical play in the usage of verses with *upasargas*. The poetic taste towards the use of *anuprāsa* is well borne out in the following verse of *Vasantatilakā* metre (verse 67, lines 128-29) :

natyā jayanti sa-bhayā ripavas=tam=ājau
na tyājayaty=ayam=asūn=aribhiś=śriyas=taiḥ

The *alaṅkāra* used in this inscription is not of high order. The poet has used a number of compound words, metres and *anuprāsas* at intervals. The narrative style is indeed interesting. The last verse in this record (verse 87) which mentions the name of Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja, who completed the charter is corrupt and defective. The metre of this verse may be *Pushpitāgra*.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 15; *Ibid.*, No. 10; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 631.

2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, Nos. 164, 168 and 170; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 16.

3. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 165. This Vaiduṁba record from Kāpalle can be palaeographically assigned to the middle of 9th century A.D.

4. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 196.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 198.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 177.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 230.

8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 4

9. *Ibid.*, No. 11, Text line 10.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 192-93.

11. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 12.

12. *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, No. 244.

13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 9.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 5.

15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 281 and pp. 283-84.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 283; R. Shama Sastry : *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (translation), p. 281.

17. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 315.

18. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 150.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 94.

20. *Ibid.*, 1943-44, No. B. 125.

21. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 47; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 482.

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 48.

23. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 381.

24. *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 141; *Ibid.*, part II, para 19, p. 102.

25. *Ibid*, No. 149.

26. *Tolkāppiyam*, Sūtra . 1.

27. *Śilappadikāram*, Canto XI, 51.

28. *Divyaprabandham*, Bhūtattāḷvār, Stanza 28; S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar : *A History of Tirupati*, Vol. I, p. 70.

29. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, No. 529.

30. V.S. Pathak : *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, pp. 20-21, (1960).

31. These six sects are referred to in the commentary to the introductory work to *Śivagñānabōdha*, with a slight difference. Śaivam is mentioned but not Kāḷāmukha. These six sects are also referred to in the work called *Tirumandiram* by Tirumūlar.

32. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No. 129; *Ibid.*, 1908, part II, paras 85-86 and 88-89, pp. 87-88.

33. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 115.

34. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV, No. 88.

35. *Maṇimēkalai*, Canto I; *Śilappadikāram*, Canto V, 1-240; V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: *Śilappadikāram*, p. 220, (1939).

36. *A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38, No. B 187.

37. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 40/126 G.T.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 1/129 G.T.

39. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 19/578 A T.T.

40. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 175.

41. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 469.

42. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 102/195 T.T.

43. *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, No. 4.

44. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 491.

45. *A.R.Ep.*, 1924, No. 179.

46. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 692.

47. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 81/170 T.T.

48. V. Vriddhagirisan has construed this meaning on the basis of the reading Piṭharadēvi obtained in the Chāpalapalli record referring to Rājamalla Yādavarāya. (See *J.I.H.*, Vol. XVII, part I, p. 39).

49. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 368 and p. 452, ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 456; *A.R.Ep.*, 1936, part II, para 44, pp. 75-76.

50. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 692.

51. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has pointed out that this work was composed at a period later to Rāmānuja. (For the details of the visits of this teacher, see his work, *A History of Tirupati*, Vol. I, pp. 264-86 and pp. 309-11).

52. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 294 and 295; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No. 155.

53. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 643-50; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 377-81; *Ibid.*, Nos. 463-79 and 481-502; *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, Nos. 82-169; *Ibid.*, Nos. 171-84; *Ibid.*, 1924, Nos. 150-80; *Ibid.*, 1946, Nos. B 83-87.

54. *T.T.D.I.*, Vols. I-VI, part I.

55. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 162, line 522.

56. T.K.T. Viraraghavacharya : *History of Tirupati* (The Tiruvengadam Temple Vol. II, pp. 650-59—Tirupati 1954).

57. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 190/43 T.T.

58. *Ibid.*, No. 219/106 T.T.

59. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 114/332 T.T.

60. *Ibid.*, No. 122/333 T.T.

61. *Ibid.*, No. 119/18 G.T.

62. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 2/266 T.T.

63. *Ibid.*, No. 107/156 G.T.

64. *Ibid.*, No. 98/247 T.T.

65. *Ibid.*, No. 97/32 T.T.

66. *Ibid.*, No. 157/200 G.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 158/98 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 159/246 T.T.

67. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 187/57 T.T.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 213/45 T.T.

69. *Ibid.*, No. 3/14 G.T.

70. *Ibid.*, No. 18/157 T.T.

71. *Ibid.*, No. 31/54 T.T.

72. *Ibid.*, No. 50/197 T.T.

73. *Ibid.*, No. 94/250 T.T.

74. *Ibid.*, No. 108/136 G.T.

75. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 54/544 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 55/545 T.T.

76. T.K.T. Viraraghavacharya; *History of Tirupati* (The Tiruvengadam Temple), Vol. II, pp. 758-64—Tirupati, 1954).

77. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. V, No. 47/681 T.T.

78. *Ibid.*, No. 51/561 and 660 T.T.

79. *Ibid.*, No. 153/419 G.T.

80. *Ibid.*, No. 168/633 T.T.

81. *Ibid.*, No. 99/354 G.T.

82. *Ibid.*, No. 127/666 T.T.

83. *Ibid.*, No. 173/376 G.T.

84. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 278; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 4/3 T.T.

85. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 276; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 23/53 T.T.

86. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 462; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. II, No. 30/8 G.T.

87. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 400.

88. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 281 and p. 284 and plate facing p. 284.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

90. *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, No. 244. This record can be palaeographically assigned to the 9th century A.D.

91. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, No. 336.

92. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637.

93. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 165.

94. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 13.

95. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 637, 640 and 629; *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 137.

96. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 14.

97. See the Chapter on Chālukyas of Bādāmi by B.R. Gopal in the *Institute of Correspondence Course and continuing education Lessons*.

98. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 192-93.

99. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 271-76.

100. *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 137, Text lines 4-6.

101. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20.

102. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, Nos. 173, 177 and 195-97; *Ibid.*, 1933-34, No. 164; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 10.

103. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 318.

104. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, No. 366.

105. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 11.

106. *Ibid.*, No. 5; *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 164.

107. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, lines 4-5.

108. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 197.

109. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20.

110. *Ibid.*, No. 16.

111. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, line 3.

112. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 5, line 13.

113. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 70/202 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 71/257 and 245 T.T.; *Ibid.*, No. 72/262 T.T.

114. *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 137.

115. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 313, 322 and 328.
116. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 10/226 T.T.
117. *Ibid.*, No. 11/227 T.T.
118. *Ibid.*, No. 48/241 T.T.
119. *Ibid.*, No. 46/239 T.T.
120. *Ibid.*, No. 48/241 T.T.
121. *Ibid.*, No. 91/371 T.T.
122. *Ibid.*, No. 116/56 T.T.
123. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 650.
124. *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. III, No. 65, verse 30.
125. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 241-66 and plates.

9

Art and Architecture

ABOUT 26 temples in this district were studied for the purpose of delineating the art and architecture of this area. Among these, six temples have been described in detail in a documented form with reference to their foundation, architectural features and the iconography of the sculptures depending upon their availability. The other temples will be assessed in the sequel in the light of the documented ones. The different types of *vimāna* of the temples found in different parts of the district have enabled us to classify them under five broad types discussed below.

Kalakaḍa :

Type I : From the point of view of chronology based on epigraphical details, the Pallīśvara temple at Kalakaḍa is the earliest monument. The name Pallīśvara occurs in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I[1] engraved on the *adhishṭhāna*. The occurrence of an inscription of Vaiduṁba Bhuvana triṇētra[2] in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine helps us to date the temple in the times of a person who ruled before the period of Bhuvanatriṇētra. In fact we find that a Vaiduṁba king Palla, Pallo or Palava also called Manujatriṇētra[3] ruled some time about the middle of 9th century A.D. It is therefore very probable that this temple was constructed by that Vaiduṁba king Palla and named after him as Pallīśvara thereon, just like Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara, Ādityēśvara,[4] Irugīśvara,[5] Rājarājēśvara,[6] etc. This Vaiduṁba temple is square on its plan which is maintained right upto the *śikhara*, which is curvilinear in its corners (Plate No. 1). This curvilinear feature connects the *upāna* showing the geometrical precision of the plan. In other words, it presents a beautiful plan of concentric squares from the base to the slab on the top of the *śikhara*, when one looks at it from above. This is the artistry of the planning of the temple. Besides, the perfect lining of the underside of the cornices of the first, second and third *talas* and the perfect parallel lining of the underside of the *karṇa-kūṭas*, *śālas* and *pañjaras* lend a harmonious symmetry to the entire structure above the *prastara*. The absence of any sculptural work is very striking.

Yātavākili :

The Irugīśvara temple (now called Chandramauḷīśvara) at Yātavākili also belongs to this type. But it exhibits a simpler variety without proliferating the *talas* or their architectural members. This is an *ēkatala* temple (Plate No. 2). The geometrical precision and the preponderence of the *kūḍus* on the *tala* seem to be the most important points of agreement between the two temples. There are certain developments represented in the Irugīśvara temple confirming its later date, which is also indicated by the epigraphical evidence. They are : the placing of *nandis* at the cardinal points of the *grīvā*, the presence of the figures of the *dēvatas* on the four sides of the *kōshṭhas* of the *grīvā*, the *kūḍu* edges coming closer than in the Kalakaḍa temple, the scroll work on them, designs on the edge of the cornice (*koḍikkarukku*), the *kūḍu* arch topped by lion face, and the animal friezes above and below the cornice.

This evaluation is based on the study of the existing structure at Yātavākili. The inscription discussed in page indicates that the temple, which was originally built (*paṇḍu-eḍuppita*) by Kumbhaṉ-gāmuṇḍan in the reign of Rājēndra I,[7] was renovated (*pudukku*) by his descendant (*makkaḷ*) Śelvagaṅga in the reign of Rājarāja III.[8] The very fact that the square plan with a square *śikhara* and the absence of a niche observed in the Kalakaḍa temple also are retained in this modest building speaks out against any introduction in the course of renovation. It is, therefore, presumed that the present structure at Yātavākili represents the original structure in so far as its architectural features are concerned. There are no features which could be attributed to the times of Rājarāja III during whose reign this temple was renovated.

Toṇḍaimānāḍ :

TYPE II : The Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara temple at Toṇḍaimānāḍ was evidently built by Parāntaka I in memory of his predecessor and father Āditya I, who is stated to have died at Toṇḍaimānār̤r̤ūr *i.e.*, Toṇḍaimānāḍ. This temple was also called Ādityēśvaram and is described as a *paḷḷipaḍai* (a sepulchral temple).[9] The existing temple presents a look of modernity from the *prati* upwards (Plate No. 3). Even if we can imagine that the renovated parts may sometimes resemble the original structure, the total absence of the pilastered wall on all the sides presents a problem. The niches on the walls do not seem to fit into the structure in proper proportions. It is unfortunate that the original structure is not preserved, thus leading to a very serious loss of information regarding a sepulchral type of temple, if its composition should have been different. There is, however, a sepulchral temple at Mēlpāḍi in North Arcot district, Tamilnadu, not far from Toṇḍaimānāḍ. This temple is stated to be a *paḷḷipaḍai* called Ar̤iñjigai Īśvaram, named after Āriñjaya called Ār̤r̤ūr-tuñjiṇa-uḍaiyār built by his grandson Rājarāja I.[10] It is not known whether the original temple at Toṇḍaimānāḍ would have borne any resemblance to Mēlpāḍi temple, even though the two are separated by an interval of about three quarters of a century.

Attention is drawn here to the characteristic features of the *adhishṭhāna* (Plate No. 4). The preserved portion of the *adhishṭhāna* of the temple upto the *prati* has two important characteristics : (1) the *tripaṭṭa-kumuda* changes into *vṛitta-kumuda* right below the niches on the walls. This *vṛitta-kumuda* has appropriate lotus designs on its surface and bottom. Even the *kumuda* moulding itself had been cut into circular stripes (serrated) diagonally (2) the portion above this *kumuda* has an animal frieze described in detail in the sequel. Correspondingly the *praṇāla* on the north side, appearing at the *prati* above the *kumuda*, is nicely fitted into animal frieze. These two features are not met with in any of the temples in Chittoor district. These unique features suggest their direct importation from the Chōḷa country.

In spite of the projection of the base below the niche part, the plan of the temple should be taken as *square*.

Of the three temples discussed above, the type to which the Kōndaṇḍarāmēśvara temple at Toṇḍaimānāḍ belong cannot be ascertained due to the absence of the original structure above the *adhisṭhāna*. The other two temples the Pallīśvara temple at Kalakaḍa and the Irugīśvara temple at Yātavākili belong to a type whose main features are the square plan, being consistently maintained upto the top and the absence of niches on the wall.

Laḍḍigam :

Type III : We now take up the discussion of another type in this area to which the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam belongs. This temple has a *vimāna* on a square plan but with a circular *śikhara* (Plate No. 5). Compared to the type at Kalakaḍa described above the differences are an extra member in the *adhisṭhāna i.e.*, the *paṭṭikā*, a sophisticated type of niche, developed pilasters, developed *kūḍu* arches on the cornice and *grīvā* and the animal frieze above the cornice running all through from the *vimāna* to the porch. This is the earliest monument of this type in Chittoor district and as such its occurrence requires some explanation. It is not far to seek. This temple was built by a subordinate of the Chōḷa named Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ[11] hailing from the southern districts. As a consequence of Chōḷa expansion in the north even from the times of Āditya I, it is possible that this type was introduced sometime in the 10th-11th centuries. In fact the temple at Mēlpāḍi called Ariñjigai Īśvaram-uḍaiyār, built in the time of Rājarāja I[12] in memory of his grandfather Ariñjaya, described as *Āṟṟūrtuñjiṉa-uḍaiyār*, has a *vimāna*, square on plan with a circular *śikhara*. These two temples resemble each other in most other respects. But the most important contribution that this temple makes in the field of architecture is in the fashioning of its gateway. This is the earliest instance of a gateway with a *śālā* planted on its top (Plate No. 6). It may be noted that in all the types of *vimānas* having more than one *tala*, the *talas* below the *śikhara* used to have *śālā*, *pañjara* and *kūḍu*. It seems that in this particular temple which has an *ēkatala-vimāna*, the *śālā* which would have been normally shown in the middle *tala*, is found planted on the gateway. It has been already pointed out that this is but one step in the evolution of a gateway into a *gōpura*. Just as the simpler *ēkatala vimāna* developed into a *vimāna* with two or three *talas* so also the gateway developed into a *gōpura* with gates (*nilai*, Sanskrit ; *dvāra*) placed between the entrance and the *śālā*. Thus the *śālā* serves as a *śikhara* for the gateway. There is no doubt that the gateway is coeval with the *vimāna* on account of the fact that the deities represented on the *grīvā* of the *vimāna* and the *grīvā* of the *śālā* of the gateway are the same.

Type IV : The fourth type of temple in this collection is represented by the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam (Plate Nos. 7 and 8). It is an apsidal temple from base to top unlike the Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruttaṇi of the period of Pallava Aparājita[13] though the two are separated by a long interval. It is evident that this temple which is stated to have been built of stone (*kaṟṟaḷi*) in the times of Vikramachōḷa[14] was till then built of brick and mortar. It may not be wrong to assume that the type of the brick structure was the same as the one in stone. There is no question of any comparison between this type and the types described above. Yet a few features stand out prominently. They are the inverted lotus design below the *jagati* and the regular lotus design supporting the *vari*, decorated *kāl* portions of the pilasters (as in the case of Laḍḍigam) which are circular and octogonal, the developed *stambhas* of the niches and the tenon corbels.

The apsidal shape of this temple is clearly a product of the local architectural milieu. It is well known that the apsidal types had prevailed over a long period and a wide area from the far ends of Andhra Pradesh right down to the southern limits of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. It is, however, not possible to give the chronological delineations of the various patterns of this type such as the apsidal base and the square top, the square base and the apsidal top *e.g.*, Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruttaṇi, Chingleput district and apsidal right from base to top *e.g.*, Māśilāmaṇīśvara temple at Tirumullaivāyil and the Tiruccuram-uḍaiya-nāyaṇār temple at Tiruśūlam both in Chingleput district. But there is no apsidal temple in Chittoor district other than this one.

Type V : There is one more type among the temples surveyed but not included in the descriptive list given here, to which the Varadarājaperumāḷ temple at Vāvilitōṭa (Plate No. 9), Chittoor taluk, belongs. The main features of this type are a square *tala* over the *prastara* with walls rising up strightaway with all its features, a circular *grīvā*, and the conical *śikhara* (looking like an inverted basket) its bottom resting on the circular top of the *grīvā*. The walls of this temple with its shorter niche reminds us of its counterpart in the Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara temple at Toṇḍaimānāḍ. We have no means of knowing the exact date of this temple. The four corners of the *grīvā* are adorned by squatting *simhas*. The base of the *grīvā* over the *prastara* has simulated tiers.

Besides the six temples classified under five types and described above, there are a few more temples surveyed in Chittoor district some of which do not lend themselves to easy treatment due to the absence of marked features or definite epigraphical evidence. They will be treated here with a view to classify them under the five broad type discussed above.

The Agastyēśvara temple at Vāvilitōṭa :

This temple has an inscription engraved on its wall. It is dated in the 31st year (11001-01 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga I.[15] But this is not a foundation inscription. This inscription may be helpful at best in setting the latter limit *i.e.*, 1100-01 A.D., for its foundation. This temple square on plan, has an *ēkatala* and a square *śikhara*

(Plate No. 10). Among the five types described above this temple may be classified under the type I represented by the Irugīśvara temple at Yātavākili. The points of similarities are the square plan and the square *śikhara*, the absence of niches on the walls, niches in the *grīvā* with *nandis* at the corners. The most important point of difference however, is the protruding niche on the *grīvā* where the *sthaṁbha* and the *kīrtimukha* are more prominent and the placement of sculpture in the niches is somewhat subdued, while in the temple at Yātavākili the figure is more prominent, the *sthaṁbha* is almost absent and the *kīrtimukha* is less pronounced. The niche appears to be an integral part of the *grīvā* in the Irugīśvara temple at Yātavākili unlike in the Agastīśvara temple. This appears to offer a clue regarding the dating of this temple. This is later in date than the Chandramauḷīśvara temple at Yātavākiii which, though renovated in the time of Rājarāja III appears to have retained the features of its original construction done in the time of Rājēndra I.

Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāḷahasti :

This temple called Nīlagirīśvaram in an inscription of Rājarāja III, dated in his 7th regnal year (1222-23 A.D.) engraved on the east and north walls of the temple, refers to the repairs made to the temple.[16] This temple may be classified under type III represented by the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara (Iruṅgōḷīśvaram-uḍaiya mahādēva) temple at Laḍḍigam. This is also an *ēkatala* temple, but faces west (Plate No. 11). The most important aspects on which it resembles the Laḍḍigam temple are, apart from its square base and circular *śikhara*, the developed lintel of the niche, the animal frieze over the *prastara* and the similar placements of the figures on the *grīvā*. The points of difference such as the developed arch over the *grīvā* figure, the simpler *kūḍus* on the cornice over walls and rafter frame-work of the *grīvā* cannot be emphasized on account of the fact that it is difficult to fix anyone of these items as due to the repairs mentioned in the inscription. The construction of this temple may be placed roughly between the date of the Laḍḍigam inscription *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga I[17] and the date of the inscription of Rājarāja III.

Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāṇipākkam :

This temple referred to as Maṇivaṇīśvara and Maṇivaṇḍīśvaram has an inscription dated in the 8th year of Vīrarājēndra, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga III equated to the Śaka year 1108 (=1186 A.D.), engraved on the east wall of the central shrine.[18] On the basis of the *śikhara* and other datails such as the square plan, the square *śikhara*, etc., this may be classed along with the Chandramauḷīśvara, *i.e.*, the Irugīśvara temple at Yātavākili. Though there are signs of the temple having been renovated in parts, the points of resemblance such as the *kūḍu* opening above the *grīvā*, the inverted *padma* on the top of the *śikhara* etc., substantiate this classification. The niches in the *grīvā* do not contain figures. This temple may be placed long after the date of the Yātavākili temple on the basis of the one consideration, *viz.*, that the *grīvā* niche and *kūḍu* do not look like an integral part of the temple (*vide* : Agastyēśvara temple above).

Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāḷahasti :

The central shrine of the temple, which was in brick at least from before the time of Rājarāja I (24th year of his reign, *i.e.*, 1008-09 A.D.)[19] was built in stone (*kaṟṟaḷi*) in 1188-89 A.D. in the reign of Vīrarājēndra-chōḷa (*i.e.* Kulōttuṅga III).[20] The sophisticated developments noticed in the central shrine, such as the profuse placements of ornamental pilasters (*stambha tōraṇas*) of the walls (Plate No. 12), the *tōraṇa* and the associated details and *śālā* tops of the upper part of the niches occupying more space in the wall, thus compelling the placement of the pedestal of the image over the *paṭṭikā* instead of on the *prati* (Plate Nos. 13 and 14), the introduction of incipient *pushpabōdigai* corbels, the multiplication of the columns of pilasters on the *kūṭa*, *śālā*, and *pañjara* of the second *tala*, the absence of the formation of a pronounced niche on the *grīvā*, ornamental lattice-window with surrounding details similar to that of a niche (Plate No. 15), etc., are relevant to the time of its construction.

The *praṇāla* has been fixed at the *upāna* level thus suggesting clearly that the floor level of the *garbhagṛiha* in the interior is now far lower to the *prati* level of the present construction (Plate No. 16). This appears to give an effect of elevation to the *vimāna*, when looked at from outside.

Kāśiviśvēśvara temple at Kāḷahasti :

This is a *dvitala* temple with the superstructure in brick (Plate No. 17). When compared to the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam, under which type this may be classified, it has plain arches on its cornice, and prominent *kōshṭha*, *kūṭa* and *pañjara* which took bigger in size, viewed against the background of the raised wall behind. The *grīvā* figures are housed in well-marked niches with the arches whose central openings are less wide. The arches also have serrated ends at the sides with scooped surface all along the arch. But the most important variations are the *padma* showing the drooping petal ends on its upper edges on the pilasters and well-developed corbels of *pūmunai* type. These features enable us to place this temple sometime towards the end of 12th century.

Chennakēśava temple at Sōmapālyam (*Sōmapalle*) :

This is one of the biggest temples in Chittoor district with a number of structures around the central shrine. The central shrine has no foundation inscription.

Though this central shrine bears traces of renovation, the main structure seems to retain most of the original features in their outline. It is a *dvitala* temple, the second *tala* in brick having *kōshṭha*, *pañjara* and *śālā* (Plate No. 18). It has a cornice with slight projections in the central part. The *grīvā* has a circular cornice with a circumference bigger than that of the *śikhara*, thus showing a deviation from its original feature (Plate No. 19). Otherwise this temple must be classified as belonging to a type represented by the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam, though very much later in date. Two other features *viz.*, such as the bevelled corbels in the pillasters and *praṇāla* terminating in a curve, point to the core of this temple, including the central shrine, as belonging to the pre-Vijayanagara period. A line of distinction has to be drawn here between the aspects hinted above and all aspects traced in structures other than the central shrine, *viz.*, sub-shrines, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *mukhamaṇḍapa*, etc. This is in step with the developments in architecture when comparatively studied, elsewhere between the pre-Vijayanagara and the Vijayanagara periods. The one great characteristic which stands out in the Sōmapalle complex is the intricate and dexterous workmanship in the triple shrines, the *maṇḍapa* in front of the three sub-shrines and the ceiling of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*.

Śrī Veṅkaṭēśaperumāḷ temple at Tirumala :

The central shrine of this temple is a *tritala* structure but, unfortunately, the portion below the *kūṭa*, *pañjara* and *śālā* of the second *tala* cannot be seen (Plate No. 20). For, during the times of Vīra Nārasiṅga Yādavarāya new works of construction were undertaken by Tiruppullāṇi-dāsar. The inscription recording this fact states that this person undertook to build a temple (*kōyil*) for the central shrine (*kōyil-āḻvār*).[21] It is apparent that it involved the building of a wall to protect the religious sanctity of the central shrine which is personified as *kōyil-āḻvār*. We find that the present central shrine at Tirumala has a thick wall of about 7 ft. 2 inches around the deity. The inscription referred to above says that, on the orders of the reigning Yādavarāya chief Vīra Nārasiṅgadēva, the inscriptions on the *kōyil-āḻvār i.e.*, the walls of the central shrine were re-engraved on the north wall of the first *prākāra*. It is therefore clear that the original central shrine has not been changed though it is hidden below the middle *tala* on account of another wall closely gripping on the original wall of the central shrine. The central shrine can, therefore, be dated before the period of this Yādavarāya chief and the entire complex of the temple other than the central shrine has to be placed after his times. Since the earliest inscription, among those engraved on the central shrine and said to have been re-engraved in the time of Yādavarāya on the north wall of the first *prākāra* is dated in the 16th year of Rājarāja I[22] (1000-01 A.D.), the date of the construction of the central shrine will have to be placed on a date earlier to this year.

This *tritala* temple has a circular *śikhara*. It is based on a square plan. In these respects it may be classed with the type represented by the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam.

Five types have been discussed above and a few temples surveyed in the course of my field study have been classified under these five types. They are structures having (I) square plan and square *śikhara* represented by the temples at Kalakaḍa and Yātavākili; (II) the type whose delineations are not clear, but represented by the surviving square *adhishṭhāna* of the temple at Toṇḍaimānāḍ; (III) square plan and circular *śikhara* represented by the temple at Laḍḍigam; (IV) apsidal (*gajapṛishṭha*), right from base to top, represented by the temple at Guḍimallam and (V) square plan with a circular *śikhara*, but different from type III. It may be noted that the type having an octagonal (*ashṭāṅga*) *śikhara*, met with in the south, is not to be seen in the entire district of Chittoor. Even as the district is a region where three languages (Telugu, Tamil and Kannaḍa) meet, so also the apsidal, (*gajapṛishṭha*) the circular (*vṛitta*) and the square (*chaturasra*) types seem to have spread respectively from the three directions into the Chittoor district.

The proliferation of the elements represented in each *tala* of the structure seems to have nothing to do with its age, for the *tritala* temple at Kalakaḍa is earlier than the *ēkatala* temple at Yātavākili; the *tritala* temple at Tirumalai is earlier than the *ēkatala* temple at Laḍḍigam. Inscriptions have been taken into consideration in fixing their age.

DESCRIPTION OF TEMPLES

Name of the Monument : Śiva temple (*Pallīśvaram-uḍaiya-Mādēvar̤*)
Location : Kalakaḍa (*Kar̤kaḍai*), Vayalpad taluk.
Foundation inscription and builder with reference : Earliest inscription belongs to Bhuvanatriṇētra Irugeya-mahārāja (*c.* 972-1000 A.D.)[23] (engraved on the outer faces of the wall of the *maṇḍapa* on both the right and left sides of the entrance).

Inscription of *Kulōttuṅga I*, 49th year (=1119 A.D.), refers to the temple of Pallīśvaram-uḍaiya-Mādēvar̤.[24] (engraved on the tiers of the basement (*adhishṭhāna*) stones of the temple).

Description : The temple of Pallīśvaram-uḍaiya-Mādēva faces west. It comprises a *vimāna*, an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a *mahāmaṇḍapa*, all built continuously of stone and in a unified architectural pattern (Plate No. 1).

The *tritala vimāna* is square (*samachaturasra*) on plan. The *adhisṭhāna* of the *vimāna* carries the mouldings of an *upāna*, which is now covered by the soil debris, a high *jagatī*, a *tripaṭṭa-kumuda*, *kaṇṭha* with *kampa* on either side and divided into pilasters (*galapādas*) at distant intervals, *paṭṭikā* and a bold *prati* upon which the *bhitti* rises. On the north-side of the *vimāna*, the *paṭṭikā* carries a *praṇāla*, elliptical in section and having a semi-circular aperture cut at the bottom level of the wall. It does not show any *siṁhamukha* at the point of its inception. It is fitted into the level of the *paṭṭikā* unlike in some Chōḷa specimens.

The wall surface shows pilasters corresponding to the *hāra* of the superstructure. There are altogether eight pilasters in the middle besides the two cantoning pilasters at the corners. They are of square cross-section showing the *kāl*, *kalaśa*, *taḍi*, rounded *kumbha*, *padma*, *phalaka* and oblong, bevelled corbels. The end corbels carry the *vājana* moulding on either side of the *valabhī* which is embellished with curved rafter ends. Closely following this is the drooping *kapōta* with a pair of *kūḍus* against the *hāra* components. The circle of these *kūḍu* arches is not complete but they have been designed in ogee shape, with the tip in the nature of a trefoil barge-board design. This kind of *kūḍu* is very interesting in its decorations. It rises over the *kapōta*, the *kaṇṭha* and the *prati-kapōta*. The *hāras* over the *prastara* of the first *tala*, showing a series of miniature shrine consisting of *kūṭas*, *kōshṭhas* or *śālās* and *pañjaras* or *nīḍas*, forms a parapet as it were for the second *tala*. Very interestingly the next *tala* is shown as being supported by a row of stunted pilasters on the *bhitti* giving an impression that there is a circumumbalatory (*pradakshiṇāpatha*) passage in the second *tala* which is not indeed the case. The *hāra* of the first tala covering the pilasters almost upto the *taḍi* comprises a *śālā* in the centre, two *pañjaras*, one on either side of the *śālā*, and two *kūṭas* at either corners. The *śikhara* of *kūṭa* and the *kōshṭha* show a *kūḍu* arch resembling a trefoil barge-board shape while the *pañjaras* show a shovel-shaped finial end in their *kūḍus*. The pilasters of the first, second and third *tala* do not have any rearing lion as in the pilasters of the Pallava temples of the 7th-8th centuries A.D., but have bevelled corbels of the

Chōḷa specimens of this district. The temple has been raised out of a single wall leaving no circumambulatory passage (*ālindra*). The *pradakshiṇā-patha* could not be shown in a functional manner but in an oblique manner, since the double wall system (*i.e., antar-bhitti* and *bāhya-bhitti*) in the construction of the tiers of the *vimāna* is not adopted here. Above the rafter frame work on the corbels rises the *kapōta* carrying *kūḍus* which are lesser in number than in the *kapōta* of the first *tala*. Similarly, the third *tala* is shorter than the second *tala* and is covered upto the *kumbha* (?) of the pilasters by the *hāra* of the second *tala* and rises upto the *kapōta*. The *kūṭa, kōshṭha* and the *pañjara* are embellished with *kūḍu* arches in their *śikhara* portion. Upon the *kapōta* is the *kanṭha* succeeded by a *piṇḍi* slab. The *chaturasra grīvā* and a broad, flat *śikhara* with *nāsikās* in the four cardinal directions ending in shovel-shaped finials rises over the *piṇḍi* slab. The *stūpi* in the *śikhara* is not found.

The main *vimāna* has an *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the front which in turn is faced by a *mahā-maṇḍapa*. Both these *maṇḍapas* have the same *adhishṭhāna* component in continuation of the *vimāna*. The wall space in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* is rather plain, without any specific decorations, other than an entrance door opening towards its west. Unlike the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, the *mahā-maṇḍapa* has a *gavāksha* window, one on either side, on the north and south walls. The other scheme of delineation of various organs upto the *kapōta* resembles the main *vimāna*. The entrance on the west of this structure seems to have been originally approached by a flight of steps. This is obviously due to the mouldings being shown with abrupt endings on either side of the door-way. The entrance door-way is flanked by pilasters embellished with an inner *patra-latā* design and the outher band of *pushpa-śākhā* ornamentation. These two bands reach as far as the lintel slab at the top. At the lower part of the joint in a square portion are carved the figures of *dvārapālas* and the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamuna (Plate No. 21). Of these two female reliefs facing the entrance, the figure of Gaṅgā is to the north of the entrance and that of Yamunā is to the south of the entrance. These figures standing in *tribhaṅga* pose are of dimunitive character and are also stylistically depicted. The expression in the face is not distinguishable. The figures of *dvārapālas* facing away from the entrance shown to the right and left of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures, are four-armed, standing with their legs crossed, the right leg placed on the ground, and the left leg resting upon the tip. The upper hands are in *vismaya* pose holding a *nāga* by the tail. The lower right arm is in *tarjanī-hasta* while the lower left arm rests on a club (*gadā*). He wears a *kirīṭa* projected on the side in a peculiar fashion, *kuṇḍalas, hāras, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha*, girdle, etc. The lintel slab, carved with a *laḷāṭabiṁba* in the centre, shows the figure of a *Gaja-Lakshmī* seated in centre flanked by a pair of female attendants on either side and other figures of male and female, probably, a group of musicians with various instruments in their hands. Besides the two attendants on her sides, six other figures are shown flanking them on either side.

The *Gaja-Lakshmī* (Plate No. 22) shown seated on a *padma-pīṭha* has two arms, bent at elbow region and holding two lotuses against her shoulders. She has a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, heavy and rounded *kuṇḍalas* in the earlobes, *hāra*, *kuchabandha*, being tied to the neck bands run over the shoulders one on either side, a *channavīra* and *bāhuvaḷayas*. Other intrinsic features in this figure could not be made out on account of its small dimension. Close to her are depicted two elephants, standing one on either side and holding the inverted pot (*kalaśa*) of water with their raised trunks in the act of pouring water on the goddess. The female attendant towards the right of the goddess carries a fly-whisk (*chāmara*) in her right hand and the pot of water in her left arm, while her counterpart on the left of the goddess is a *chāmara-dhāriṇī* standing with a *chāmara* in her right arm and the left hand placed on thigh.

The other female attendant, to the right of the figure carrying both the *chāmara* and the *pot of water* is simply shown standing with her right hand placed across on the belly supporting the elbow of the left arm, whose fingers are kept under the chain.

The group on the proper right of this female attendant consists of standing figures, two-armed all of them, one of the hands in *vismaya* or in *kaṭi-hasta*, while the other arm holds a weapon-like object.

To the left of the *chāmara-dhāriṇī* is a female attendant who has a pot of water in her left hand, being supported by her right arm holding the *kalaśa* above. To her left is a group of musicians, with two standing drummers, two dancers, a seated figure playing on drum and a cymbal player at the extreme left.

The cella is square on plan, simple and plain. It has a socket hole in the centre of its floor. The ceiling of the cella shows a recession in the centre due to the placement of cross lintel slabs at the corner and on the sides. The facade of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* has a pair of pilasters showing *kaṭṭu* and bevelled corbels. The ceiling of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* has been divided into three longitudinal bays resulting in a *navaraṅga-maṇḍapa*. The pillars supporting this structure in the centre are rather heavier than the pilasters of the preceding *ardha-maṇḍapa* but resembles them in all other respects.

There is a *nandi* in front of the temple. This recumbent bull is slightly damaged in the head region and so the left horn is not seen. The thick band on its neck is no doubt a feature seen in the Pallava images. The hump is shown with an involuted coil, curved inwards. The forelegs are bent and resting on the base. The hind-legs are not to be seen. Besides a thick band in the neck, there is an ornamental ribbed-band going round the body.

Name of the Monument	:	Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara temple (*Kōdaṇḍarāmīśvaram alias Ādityēśvaragaram*).
Location	:	Toṇḍamānāḍ (*Toṇḍaimāṉ-pērāṟṟūr*), Kalahasti taluk.
Foundation inscription and builder with reference :	:	*Central shrine* : Earliest inscription[25] is of Maduradikoṇḍa Parakēsari *i.e.* Parāntaka I, dated in his 34th year (940-41) (engraved on the base of central shrine). It refers to the temple as a sepulchral shrine (*paḷḷipaḍai*). The deity was named Ādityēśvara and Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara after Āditya I,[26] who is described as *Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr-tuñjiṉa-uḍaiyār*.

Description : The central shrine facing east is square on plan with an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa* in diminishing proportions (Plate No. 3). It is a *dvitala-vimāna*, the first tala being raised on the *varimāna* of the *adhishṭhāna* without any pillar or pilaster construction. There are niches on the three walls. Even these differ from the conventional style. The niches have no jambs as such but are formed by wide bits of stone projecting from the surface of the wall right from below the cornice down to the *vari*. Half way on the wall there is a small projecting lintel affording shade for the niche thus created. On the *vari* and *kaṇṭha* of the *adhishṭhāna* part just below the niche is carved a *yāḷi* frieze which is not continued on either side. The four animals on this frieze are depicted with the central pair facing opposite directions and the corner ones facing front. Below the frieze occurs the projecting *vṛitta-kumuda* with patterns of lotus and stripes drawn on them. On either side we find the *tripaṭṭa kumuda.* The *praṇāla* on this corresponding frieze of the northern wall issues out of a lion's mouth (Plate No. 4).

The projecting niche of the first *tala* is reproduced on the second *tala* and also on the *grīvā* which are built of bricks. The second *tala* has a *śālā* in the centre sided by *pañjaras* on either side and the *kōshṭhas* on the corners. The *śālā* top with two hook-like upward projections and the three *stūpis* in between, is reminiscent of the top of a *gōpura.* The *kōshṭhas* have got *śikharas* which are exact replicas of the main *śikhara* of the *vimāna.* The *śālā* contains all the members of a *vimāna* right from *adhishṭhāna* to the *stūpi* with the *kīrtimukha* rising on the second tier of the *śālā.* The frieze below the cornice of the *tala* is very simple with vertical shafts. Some scroll work and decorative motifs are seen on this cornice. Above this cornice the base of the *grīvā* contains two tiers of simple design with projections correspondingly below the niche. The niche has got two full fledged pillars with *taḍi*, *phalaka* and *bōdikā* etc. They are surmounted by a heavy bulbous cornice on which we find a *kīrtimukha* more pronounced than the one on the *śālā* of the second *tala.* There are four *nandis* perched on the second tier on the base of the *grīvā* at the cardinal points. The *śikhara* consists of one mass of bulbous stone with finely worked chamfered borders with lotus designs laid on it. The *śikhara* is imposing in its appearance and it topped by a *stūpi* which is a simple pot. Some foliage patterns (*koḍikkarukku*) are engraved on the corners of the bulbous part.

Sculptures :

The sculptures in the niches of the south, north and west walls of the central shrine are respectively Dakshiṇāmūrti, Brahmā and Vishṇu. Similarly there is a sculpture of Durgā on the north wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa.* The niche on the south wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* is empty. This empty niche might have had the image of Gaṇēśa.

The sculpture on the south wall presents Dakshiṇāmūrti under a banyan tree extending its shade over him (Plate No. 25). He is seated with his left leg folded, its ankle resting on the right thigh, and the right foot placed on the back of the *apasmāra-purusha*, who is leaning on the ground with his face turned to left. He has a turban (*ushṇīsha*) made of *jaṭā* with the tassels of the *jaṭās* flowing out of it. His face is shown in deep meditation. Of his two upper hands, the right one holds a serpent (*nāga*) with its hood spread and the left one holds fire (*agni*). The right lower hand, adopting a *chinmudrā* pose, has a rosary bead locked up between the thumb and the pointing finger. The left hand holds a book (*pustaka*). The neck ornaments (*graivēyakas*) and the *yajñōpavīta* in two strings are drawn in light lines. A belt (*udarabandha*) is also seen on the waist. There are an anklet and an ornament below it on both legs. Two seated sages are seen on either side of the *apasmāra-purusha.* Their head-dress is nearly identical with that of the main figure. They have beards issuing out of their chins. They bear *yajñōpavīta.* Their two hands adopt the same poses as the lower hands of the main figure. The same figure of Dakshiṇāmūrti is found in the niche of the *grīvā* also in appropriate dimensions.

The niche of the west wall contains the figure of standing Vishṇu holding *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in the upper hands and keeping the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left in *kaṭi*.

The sculpture of Brahmā standing on the north wall has the usual three heads seen with the fourth behind, a rosary of beads (*akshamālā*) in the upper righth and, the pitcher (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the upper left, the lower right hand in *abhaya* pose, and the lower left on the left thigh. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*. He is adorned with neck ornaments, a cross-belt (*channavīra*), armlet (*bāhuvaḷaya*) bracelet (*kaṅkaṇa*) and an anklet. He wears a belt (*udarabandha*) and a dress, the coiffeurs of which are spaced evenly.

The north wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* has now an image of Durgā. There is a loose stone image of Durgā lying in the compound. This loose image standing on a *pīṭha* with the *mahisha* face carved on the front, has a *makuṭa*, *patra-kuṇḍalas*, two upper hands, the right holding discus (*chakra*) and the left holding conch (*śaṅkha*), the lower right arm in *abhaya* pose and the left in *kaṭi*. She is adorned with neck ornaments, *bāhuvaḷaya*, bracelet and anklets. Her dress tightened by a waist-band, the ends of which are let loose is shown with the usual coiffeurs as in the case of *Brahmā*. This image is more sophisticated in its design and appearance than the one in the niche which is comparable to the sculptures of the other niches. The *mahisha* is absent.

The niche of the south wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* has an image of a standing fou armed Gaṇēśa, holding *aṅkuśa* and *pāśa* respectively in the upper right and left hands and the lower right hand having the broken tooth (*danta*), and the lower left having *mōdaka* in the process of being picked up by his trunk. There is an ornamental *udarabandha*, and a *hāra* let loose from the sides of the head down to the abdomen. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and a trouser-like garment (*ardhōruka*) and anklets.

The eastern gateway has been fashioned into a three tier *gōpura* with a wagon-roofed top (*śālā*). This is a late construction which does not call for any special remarks.

Name of the Monument : Chandramauḷīśvara temple (*Irugīśvaram-uḍaiya-Mahādēvar*; *Irugīśvaram·uḍaiya-nāyanār*).
Location : Yātavākili (*Eṭṭāvāykkāl* (or) *Eṭṭārvākkāl*), Punganur taluk.
Foundation inscription and builder with reference : *Central shrine :* Inscriptions of Parakēsari Rājēndrachōḷa I, 22nd year (1033-34 A.D.) refers to its construction by a *Veḷḷāḷa*[27] (engraved on the base of the temple).

Renovation of the shrine : An inscription of Rājarāja (identical with Rājarāja III) engraved on the walls of the temple and dated in his 29th year, Viśvāvasu (1244-45 A.D.), refers to the renovation of this temple out of the funds collected from the public (*podu*) by Śelvagaṅga, a descendant (*makkaḷ*) of Kumbhaṉ-gāmuṇḍan who formerly constructed the temple (*kōyil-paṇḍu-eḍuppita-Kumbhaṉ-gāmuṇḍan-makkaḷ Śelvagaṅgaṉ podu-koṇḍu pudukkinār*.[28]

The name Irugīśvara indicates the possibility of the deity being named after Iruga-mahārāja (*c.* 1035-70 A.D.), the Vaiduṁba king, who was the contemporary of Rājēndra I (*vide* : discussion on Vaiduṁbas). It is obvious that the Veḷḷāḷa whose name is given in the later record as Kumbhaṉ-gāmuṇḍan, obviously set up the deity in the name of his local overlord Vaidumba Iruga II, and constructed a temple. (°*kōyil-paṇḍu eḍuppitta*). This name Irugīśvara continued right upto the 29th year (1244-45 A.D.) of Rājarāja III. We do not know when the modern name Chandramauḷīśvara was adopted.

Description : The temple facing east consists of a *garbhagṛiha* square (*chaturasra*) on plan, an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a broad *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The central shrine has an *ēkatala vimāna*, built of stone upto the *śikhara* (Plate No. 2). The first *tala* rises on the *prati* of the *adhishṭhāna*. The *adhishṭhāna* comprises the *upāna*, which is obviously known from its presence in the front *mukha-maṇḍapa*, *jagatī*, inscribed *tripaṭṭa-kumuda*, *kaṇṭha* with small columns (pilaster-like) *galapādas* enclosed by *kampas* on either side, an inscribed *paṭṭikā* and a *prati* at the top upon which the wall (*bhitti*) rises.

The *bhitti* of the *vimāna* has four pilasters including the two cantoning pilasters of the square cross-section. The pilasters have square shafts (*kāl*), with broad fillet at the top marked by decorative design bands (*padma-bandha* or *tāmam*), *iḍai-kaṭṭu* below the ill-defined *kalaśa*, with *taḍi* in between the *kalaśa* below and the bulbous *kumbha* above, the inverted and smooth doucine (*padma*) or (*pāli*), the abacus (*phalaka*), square and a little thick, followed by a square *vīra-kaṇṭha* carrying plain bevelled corbels (*bōdhikā*) and the cross-corbels of similar type in the cantoning pilasters. The wall is plain with no *dēvakōshṭhas* to house the images. The *prastara* on the corbels carry the beam (*uttara*) equal in width and height as the corbels below. Above this is the *vājana*, a projecting course of the cornice followed by a *valabhī*, which is decorated with *haṁsa* frieze (*haṁsavari*) and *bhūtagaṇas* showing different dancing poses. The cornice (*kapōta*) over the *valabhī* is smooth and flexed with a decorated lower brim. The *kapōta* is embellished by four arched openings (*kūḍu*) projecting out of the cornice showing *siṁha-mukha* finials at intervals. The ends of the *kūḍu* are left open. These arches do not have any sculptures in the centre. Over the *kapōta* runs a *vyāḷavari* all around. The corners of the *kapōta* are decorated with scroll-work (*koḍikkarukku*).

Over the roof-cornice is an upward looking slab recalling the petals of lotus (doucine-like), octagonal in shape, upon which are seated four couchant bulls (*nandis*) at the four corners, the front pairs of *nandis* facing east and the hind pairs facing west. Though their heads are not prominently shown, they have a relatively plain *hump* and short horns and small ear lobes. Above this slab in the centre is a square *grīvā* having small pilasters on its *bhitti* surmounted by the *uttara* and the *valabhī*. This *valabhī* is decorated with a *vyāḷa* frieze on all sides. The square *śikhara* is quite broad for its height, wide at its lower brim and flattened at its top carrying an *adhaḥpadma* and a metal *stūpi* in the centre. It has on the four cardinal points four *kūḍus* with pronounced *kīrtimukhas*. The *grīvā* has, on the eastern side, Subrahmaṇya seated on the elephant,[29] on the southern side seated Dakshiṇāmūrti, on the west seated Vishṇu, and on the north seated Brahmā. The heads of these images rise up into the *kūḍus*.

From the base to the cornice the features present in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa* are the same as in the *vimāna*. These two *maṇḍapas* have a flat top. The pillars of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* have the same pattern observed in the case of the pilasters of the central shrine with one important difference that in the case of the former most of the parts are circular and octagonal and in the case of the latter they are square. The sculptures in the *grīva-dēvakōshṭhas* may be assigned to *c.* 11th century A.D.

The sculpture in the east side of the *grīvā* (Plate No. 31) is that of two armed Subrahmaṇya seated on the elephant.[30] The elephant facing east is carved out abutting from the edge of the base of the *grīvā*, making it appear as though the deity is riding on the elephant. His right hand is shown in *abhaya* pose and the left is on the thigh. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and *patra-kuṇḍalas*. His right leg is shown resting on the ground while the left is folded.

The *grīvā* has, on its south, a four-armed seated image of Dakshiṇāmūrti. He holds a *nāga* in the upper right arm and *agni* in the upper left. The lower right is in *abhaya* and the lower left placed on his thigh. His bent right leg is placed on the ground, while his left leg is shown folded. He wears similar ornaments as seen in the image of Subrahmaṇya. The western side of the *grīvā* has a seated, four armed Vishṇu, carrying *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in the upper arms and the lower arms as in the case of the other images described above. The *grīvā* on its north has a four-armed seated Brahmā (Plate No. 29). The attribute in the upper right hand is not clear. He has pitcher (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the upper left. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left is placed on the left thigh. The right leg is bent and placed on the ground while the left is shown folded.

The front wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* has two niches, one on either side of the entrance. The two standing *dvārapālas* flanking the entrance in these two niches are portrayed in different forms particularly in the disposition of the head and the legs. Despite the stunted nature of the body, the graceful, restrained nature of the images is not diminished. The *dvārapāla* on the left of entrance has his left leg placed behind his right (Plate No. 23). The *dvārapāla* on the right of entrance has *vyatyastapāda*, the legs crossed, with his right-leg shown across the left, and resting on its toe (Plate No. 24). The *dvārapālas* are four armed with their upper arms held in *vismaya* pose, their lower right in *tarjanī-hasta* and the lower left leaning on clubs (*gadā*). They have teeth protruding, from either end of the mouths. They wear *karaṇḍa-mukuṭas*, *patra-kuṇḍalas* in their ear lobes, thick *yajñōpavīta*, (short in one of the images), neck ornaments (*hāras*), *udarabandha* (in one of the dvārapāla images only), *kīrtimukha-kēyūras*, (*vaḷayas*) and anklets. The dress (*ardhōruka*) in the waist is shown tied by a thick belt showing a central lotus petal decoration and a medial band hanging down. There are loose ornamental bands hanging down from either ends of the belt.

Saptamātṛikas : (1) *Brāhmī*, four-armed, the upper right hand holding a *kamaṇḍalu* (vessel like *kalaśa*), the upper left an *akshamāla*, the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*; she wears a *jvālā-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *yajñōpavīta*, *kēyūra* and *kaṅkaṇa*. The folds of her dress are shown flowing on either side of the lap, with a median band. Behind the three heads is shown a halo, over which the *jvālā-makuṭa* rises above. The carving of the image is quite proportionate. (2) *Māhēśvarī* : The *bhadra-pīṭha*, on which the image is seated, is a rectangular pedestal with recumbent *Ṛishabha* carved on it. She is four-armed, the upper right arm holding a *paraśu*, the upper left *mṛiga* while the lower right is in *abhaya* and the lower left in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, pronounced *makarakuṇḍalas*, a number of *hāras*, thick *yajñōpavīta*, *kēyūra*, *bāhuvaḷaya* and *kaṅkaṇa*. (3) *Kaumārī* with a peacock on the pedestal below, is seated and four-armed. The upper right hand seems to carry a *kukkuṭa* and the upper left hand a *śūla*. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta*, *kēyūra* and *kaṅkaṇa*. The curly hairs are well delineated and shown flowing on either side of the ear lobes reaching upto the shoulders. The dress folds shown have two thick folds parallely drawn with three median bands. (4) *Vaishṇavī* is seated on a pedestal which seems to have a *lāñchchhana* resembling a seated Garuḍa. Of her four-arms, the right upper hand holds a *chakra* and the left upper arm a *śaṅkha*. The lower right is in *abhaya* and the lower left in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas* in the ear-lobes, three rows of *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta* with two strings, the *kēyūras*, the *bāhuvaḷayas*, and the anklets. The hairs are shown flowing on either side. A thick central band is seen in the dress folds looking as though it is tightened in the middle of the waist. (5) *Vārāhī*, with a boar face, as the name implies, is four-armed. Of her two upper hands, the right arm is holding a sword (*khaḍga*) and left one a *khēṭa* facing back. The lower right hand in *abhaya*, and the lower left in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. On the pedestal of this image is a *lāñchchhana*, which seems to be the standing figure of a buffalo. She is adorned with a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta*, *kēyūras*, *bāhuvaḷayas* and anklets. She wears a *kuchabandha* unlike the images discussed above. Only a waist band and no other part on the loins is seen. (6) The image of *Indrāṇī* in this group is not available. (7) *Chāmuṇḍā* is shown standing with her right foot placed on the body of the *apasmāra-purusha*, her left leg being bent at knee on the pedestal. She has a *jaṭā-makuṭa*, *patra-kuṇḍalas*, four hands, the upper right arm holding a *ḍamaru* by handle and the upper left hand a *nāga*, while the lower right hand holds a long *triśūla* hitting the back of *apasmāra-purusha* and the lower left, a skull (*kapāla*). The tassels of her *jaṭā* are shown in a well spread-out fan-like fashion. She wears close *hāra* and *kaṅkaṇa* as also a *kuchabandha*. The dress folds are well delineated in this image. The *apasmāra* facing front is two-armed in a lying posture. The *lāñchchhana* on the pedestal is not clear.

All the images except that of Chāmuṇḍā are shown seated with right leg folded and resting on the left knee and the left leg placed on the base.

In this temple is seen an eight-armed seated figure of Kāla-Bhairavī on *bhadra-pīṭha*, showing two dimunitive pilasters at the ends and a recumbent demon (*apasmāra-purusha*) shown in the pedestal. She wields in her right arms in the order from above, a long *triśūla* having a pair of three prongs one above the other thrust into the chest of the *apasmāra*, a long sword, a club (*gadā*) and a dagger, while her left arms hold a *ḍamaru*, a shield (*khēṭa*), a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and a bowl (*kapāla*). She is seated with her right leg bent at knee and raised and her left, also bent at knee, diagonally placed on the head of the *apasmāra*. She has a flowing, thick, *jaṭābhāra*. She has a fierce expression and protruding teeth. She is adorned with *patra-kuṇḍalas* in the two ear-lobes, *yajñōpavīta*, neck ornaments (*graivēyakas*), armlets (*bāhuvaḷayas*), bracelets (*kaṅkaṇas*) and *mañjīras*. The dress, with its evenly spaced coiffeurs is tied by a three-tiered waist band, the ends of which are let loose in the centre. This dress ends up just below the knee. To the right of her right leg is shown a standing dog, facing front. The dog shown on the right indicates that she is the female counter-part of Bhairava, which is indeed a rare phenomenon. The *apasmāra* who is leaning on the floor under the goddess' foot is two-armed, turning his body and face towards the front. He has a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. The demon has his left foot bent at knee placed on the pedestal and the raised right leg, also bent at knee, is shown resting on the pilaster end. He wears neck ornament, *vaḷayas*, etc., besides an *ardhōruka*. His hairs are shown tied up on the top of the head.

Another sculpture in the same temple is of Kārtikēya, four-armed, standing in *samabhaṅga*, with the peacock behind. He holds a spear in the upper right hand, probably *pāśa* in the upper left hand, while his lower right hand is now lost (probably would have been in *abhaya*) and the lower left in *kaṭyavalambita*. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, the base of which is in a thick band looking like a turban (as in the case of Bālasubrahmaṇya at Uttiramērūr, etc.), series of *hāras* (*graivēyakas*), *chakra-kuṇḍalas*, *yajñōpavīta* in 3 strings, *siṁhamukha*, *bāhuvaḷayas*, armlets, triple-banded *udarabandha*, ornamental girdle, with *siṁhalalāṭa* decoration in its centre, *ardhōruka* over which an ornamental band is shown across in a curve and waist cloth hanging on the sides, broad anklets and *mañjīras*. There is a decorated and ornamental *prabhāvaḷī* behind the head.

All these sculptures seem to be two centuries later than the sculptures of the *grīva-dēvakōshṭhas* and the *dvārapāla* images.

Name of the Monument : Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple (*Iruṅgōḷīśvaram*)

Location : Laḍḍigam (*Kōyāṟṟūr alias Uttamaśōḷapuram*), Punganu taluk.

Foundation inscriptions and builder with reference : *Central shrine* : An inscription of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I, dated in his 16th regnal year (1085-86 A.D.) refers to its construction by the chief Āḍavalāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷaṉ *alias* Iruṅgōḷaṉ[31] (engraved on the south, east, north and west walls of the shrine).

Maṇḍapa : An inscription engraved on the walls of central shrine refers to *Chittira-maṇḍapa*[32] which is probably the same as the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine. Kulōttuṅga I is stated to have been seated on a platform (*choṭṭai*) in the *chittira-maṇḍapa*. There is a platform of about 3 feet high all along the east wall of the *maṇḍapa*.

Description : The temple was named Iruṅgōḷīśvaram after the builder. This is a compact temple unit with a *garbhagṛiha*, an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The entry into the *mahā-maṇḍapa* is provided through a porch on the southern side surrounded by the *tirumadil* (*prākāra*) with a gateway on the east. The *maṇḍapa* is enclosed by a wall on the eastern side with a stone window (*jālaka*).

This is an *ēkatala* temple (Plate No. 5). The *vimāna* is square (*chaturasra*) on plan. The *grīvā* and the *śikhara* are circular. The *adhishṭhāna* is made of an *upāna*, high *jagati*, *tripaṭṭa-kumuda*, *kaṇṭha* with *kaṁpas* above and below, *paṭṭikā*, *kaṇṭha* bounded by a course of *kaṁpas*, *varimānam* in the pattern of *adhaḥpadma*. The *kaṇṭha* is divided into sections by *galapādas* in alignment with the pilasters of the wall. The *praṇāla* seen on the north above the *adhisṭhāna* level, is decorated by a *vyāḷa* and issues out of the mouth of a *makara* ornamentation. Over the *prati* rises the *bhitti*, which has on each side two pilasters in the middle and the cantoning pilasters (*kuḍyastaṁbhas*) in the four corners. The wall portions in between the middle and the cantoning pilasters are inscribed. The central shrine has a *dēvakōshṭha* one on each side of the south, west and north walls by the sides of which are found engraved a Chēra emblem (bow) with a parasole above and two *chauris* and inscriptions on either side. The pilasters are square and its three sided nature is revealed by the cantoning pilasters. All these have the usual component parts *kāl*, festoon decoration, *kaṭi*, *kalaśa* showing *padma* decoration, *taḍi*, slightly projected above the *kalaśa*, bulbous *kaṁbha*, *padma* or *pāli*, thin abacus (*phalaka*), *vīrakaṇṭha*, and bevelled corbel (*pōtikā*). The *dēvakoshṭhas* are flanked by pilasters carrying the same parts as noticed above besides a projecting lintel, *uttira padmadaḷa*, *vājana*. Over this the *makaratōraṇa* is absent. The *tōraṇa* is replaced on the southern *dēvakōshṭha* containing an image of seated *Dakshiṇāmūrti*, by spreading foliage and lions at the end, over the western niche by the lions in the centre and the *makaras* on either end over the northern *dēvakōshṭha*, by the *vyāḷa* and creeper motif on either side. Over the corbel on the wall is the *uttira*, *valabhī* carrying *bhūtavari* in a row and bounded by *vājana* course above and below. The *prastara* has a curved *kapōta* with well-carved *kūḍus* surmounted by *kīrtimukha* or *siṁhamukha* finials. The circular centre in these *kūḍus* is shallow and empty. The flexed *kapōtas* are decorated with a number of circles along its edge which is rather thick. In the corners it has the *koḍikkarukku* ornamentation. Over this runs a *vyāḷavari*, the row on each side projecting beyond the corner in the form of *makara* heads. The rearing *vyāḷas* are shown in different attitudes. Over the *piṇḍi* slab on the four corners are placed the recumbent bulls (Nandis) facing out. Rising from the centre of this slab is the *vṛitta-grīvā* carrying the dome-shaped *śikhara*. On the top of the bulged *śikhara* is an *adhaḥpadma* moulding, a *padma-kalaśa* and a finial (*stūpi*). The four cardinal points of the *grīvā* and the *śikhara* are projected out, having niches with *kūḍus* and *siṁhamukha* finials. The pilasters, with square shafts having convex bulge in the middle, form the niches of the *grīvā*. The images in these niches are Subrahmaṇya seated on elephant on the east, Dakshiṇāmūrti on the south, Yōga-Narasiṁha on the west and Brahmā on the north.

The *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa* have the same type of *adhisṭhāna* in continuation of that of the *vīmāna*. Two *dvārapālas* are seen flanking the entrance of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*. The walls of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* have two niches one on the north and the other on the south. But except the north wall of the *mahā-maṇḍapa*, all other sides have no *dēvakōshṭhas*. On the eastern side wall of this *maṇḍapa* is a *gavāksha*, which is on an axial line with the *nandi-maṇḍapa*, to the east of *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The pilasters on the walls of the *ardha* and *mahā-maṇḍapas* are similar to the pilasters of the main *vimāna*. Three pilasters are seen on each side of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* wall, besides the shorter pilasters flanking the niches and carrying a projecting lintel etc., on the top. Over the lintel of the niche enshrining Gaṇēśa, on the south wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* are a row of four lions the central ones facing each other and the other ones facing out. The north wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* has a niche enshrining Durgā. Over the projecting lintel of this *dēvakōshṭha* is a Gajalakshmī relief flanked by a *siṁha* motif and a lamp on either side. Four pilasters are found in the middle on each side of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* besides the four cantoning pilasters in the four corners. The two inner pilasters projecting down upto the *kumuda* moulding, have a square base, octagonal shaft, four-sided *kalaśa* and bevelled corbel. The cantoning pilasters have interesting bevelled corbels with a median band (*i.e.* tenon projecting). The end pilasters on the west wall, on either side, are placed between the junction of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The pillars inside the *mahāmaṇḍapa* have square bases, circular shafts, the tips of which are decorated with horse-shoe type designs, *iḍaikaṭṭu*, *kalaśa* and the bevelled brackets (corbels) with a central median band on each side.

The *prastara* of the *maṇḍapa* is fashioned after the same on the central shrine. The porch, which leads into the *mahā-maṇḍapa*, is approached, by flight of steps (*sōpāna*) on either side, *i.e.*, on the east and west. The base of this structure is simple and consists of *kaṇṭha* and *paṭṭikā* which forms the edge of the flooring of the porch. Above this rise two pillars which lend support to the roof of the porch. These two outer pillars have square base, sixteen-sided fluted shaft and octagonal *kalaśa*, and a tenon corbel. The ceiling is supported by two pillars.

The *maṇḍapa* at the south-west corner appears to be a shrine with an open *maṇḍapa* on its east. The shrine entrance being from the north, it is revealed by the *sōpana* exit on that side. This *maṇḍapa* is approached by a flight of steps on the north and east. It is not known whether this was the original Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam. Ammaṉ shrine exists as a separate entity outside. A similar unit is now seen enshrining an image of Dēvī in the north-western corner of the same *prākāra*. The *prākāra* (*tirumadil*) has a gateway on the east. This gateway is rectangular on plan. The *adhishṭhāna* consists of *upāna jagati*, *tripaṭṭa-kumuda*, *kaṇṭha* with *kaṁpas* above and below and *paṭṭikā*. The pilasters of the wall and other members above are of the same type as those in the main *vimāna* wall. There is a frieze of *vyāḷas* over the *kapōta* carrying *kūḍu* and *koḍikkarukku* ornamentation. At the four corners, above this frieze, are placed four bulls facing out. In its *ēkatala* nature, this gateway conforms to the feature prevalent in the main *vimāna*, which is also *ēkatala* in character (Plate No. 6). Over the slab, above the *vyāḷavari* separated by a constricted neck, rises the rectangular *grīvā* and the *śālā-śikhara*. The *grīvā* has four cantoning pilasters in the four corners and two more on the longer and broader sides not in full form. The niches in the four cardinal directions are flanked by pilasters on either side. They show the parts from *taḍi* to corbel. The *grīvā* has *uttira* and *valabhī* with *bhūta-gaṇas*. Over the niches in the two gable ends of the *śālā* are found the projecting lintels which are of the same type as those of *vimāna*. The *śālā-śikhara* carries two *kūḍus* at the centre above the niches, on the east and west. It has a circle formed out of the ornamentation issuing out of the *siṁha-mukha* finial at the top. The *śālā* roof sloping on the two sides is well decorated by loops of ropes or garland and along its ridge are three sockets for three stone *stūpis*, out of which two are not seen and the third lying near the hole removed from its socket. The two end fanes, which are *makara-tōraṇas*, join at the top on which the *kīrtimukha* rests. In the niches of the *grīvā*, are found the images of Subrahmaṇya seated on elephant in the east, seated Dakshiṇāmūrti in the south, seated Vishṇu in the west and seated Brahmā in the north.

The niches of the central shrine contain an image of Dakshiṇāmūrti in the south, of Vishṇu in the west, and of Brahmā in the north. The image of Dakshiṇāmurti, shown seated on *padmapīṭha* is four armed, carrying *akshamāla* in the upper right hand, *agni* in the upper left and the lower two are broken. His legs are also broken like his two arms. From a broken part of one of his *pādas*, found on the body of an *apasmāra*, it may be said that his left foot would have been resting upon this crawling demon, while his right foot was perhaps folded and resting on the left knee. His *jaṭās* are shown radiating to the sides with curled hair-strands on the edges. He wears *patra* and *makara-kuṇḍalas* in the ears, pearl-like *hāras*, *channavīra*, *yajñōpavīta*, in three strings, *bāhuvaḷayas*, *udarabandha*, *kaṅkaṇa* in the two upper arms, and a broad girdle with a figure carved in the middle. On either end of the *apasmāra* are two disciples of Dakshiṇāmūrti seated one on either side. These bearded *ṛishis* are two-armed, with their right arms in *chinmudrā* and the left, not clear. The demon is two-armed with his right arm raised, while his left resting on the pedestal holds a *pāśa* (?).[33]

The western niche contains a standing image of Vishṇu. He is four-armed, holding *prayōga-chakra* in the upper right arm, and *śaṅkha* in the upper left while his lower right is broken, the lower left arm placed on a club. He wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas*, three rows of *graivēyakas*, *bāhuvaḷayas* with *siṁhamukha* ornamentation, *yajñōpavīta* in three strings, *channavīra* (the right upper part of it not seen), *udarabandha*, a thick girdle with a *siṁhalalāṭa* buckle in its centre, a stripped band hanging down on the thighs hanging in between the legs and anklets. The dress ends are seen at the sides. A halo is shown behind his head, besides some decorations.

A standing three-headed Brahmā is placed in the niche on the north wall. He is four-armed and carries an *akshamālā* in the upper right hand, while the attribute in his upper left arm is not clear. The lower two arms are broken. He wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, *makarakuṇḍalas*, *graivēyakas*, *ornamental bāhuvaḷayas*, *yajñōpavīta*, *channavīra*, *udarabandha*, *kaṅkaṇa*, girdle with decorated band reaching upto the thighs and anklets. His dress folds are seen on either side.

In the niches of the *grīvā* are found the images of Subrahmaṇya in the east, Dakshiṇāmūrti on the south, Yōga-Narasiṁha on the west and Brahmā on the north. Subrahmaṇya[34] is shown seated, riding on elephant. He is four armed. His upper right hand carries a weapon (not traceable), the upper left a *śakti* (?) the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left an *aṅkuśa* (which is absent) (*cf*: Subrahmaṇya in the *vīmāna* at Kaṇṇaṇūr[35] and in the niches of the *vimāna* in the Chōḷīśvaram temple or Vaḍavāyil Śrī Kōyil at Kīḷaiyūr).[36] His right leg is folded and rests on the elephant back while the left leg is placed on the rectangular pedestal below. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *chakra-kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta*, *bāhuvaḷayas*, *channavīra* (the lower part alone seen), *udarabandha*, girdle, anklets and *mañjīras*. The twined trunk of the elephant touches the floor-level. Dakshiṇāmūrti is seated with his right leg folded and the left one hanging. Of his four arms, the upper right probably holds an *akshamālā*, while his upper left holds a *nāga*. His lower right is in *chinmudrā* and the lower left holds a book (*pustaka*). He wears a *jaṭā-makuṭa*, the *jaṭās* being flown at the sides, *patra-kuṇḍalas*, *graivēyakas*, *yajñōpavīta* with three strings, *channavīra*, *udarabandha* with pearl decorations, *bāhuvaḷayas*, girdle and anklets. The images depicted in the pedestal are not identifiable.

Yōga-Narasiṁha in the western niche is shown seated in *utkuṭika*-like posture with his legs crossed. A *yōgapaṭṭa* is seen binding the knees. He has four arms. The upper right arm holds a *chakra*, while the upper left holds a *śaṅkha*. The two lower hands are stretched and placed on the knees. He has lion-face and ears, showing his mouth open with mane below the chin and whiskers spreading to the sides. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *bāhuvaḷayas*, *yajñōpavīta*, *channavīra*, *udarabandha*, broad girdle and *kaṅkaṇa*.

On the north is the four-faced (three heads seen) image of Brahmā seated on a *bhadra-pīṭha*. He is four-armed, holding *akshamālā* in the upper right and *kamaṇḍalu* in the upper left. The lower right is in *abhaya* and the lower left placed on the knee. He has a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas*, *graivēyakas*, *yajñōpavīta*, *channavīra*, *udarabandha*, girdle with *siṁhamukha* ornamentation in the middle and a decorated band hanging from either side.

The *dēvakōshṭha* on the south wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* has a seated Gaṇēśa. His trunk is coiled to the left touching a *mōdaka* carried in the left arm, and the lower right bears a broken tusk (*danta*), *i.e.*, his left tusk, which is shown broken on the face. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *hāra*, *yajñōpavīta*, *udarabandha*, a girdle below his belly with a central median band hanging down upto the *lāñchhana i.e.*, *Mūshika* shown standing at the pedestal.

A loose sculpture of Chaṇḍēśvara now lying on the northern side of the *prākāra*, appears to have been originally placed in a dilapidated shrine there. This seated image has two-arms, the right hand being broken and the left placed on the knee of his damaged left leg. His right leg is folded and kept on the rectangular *pīṭha* and the left leg is resting on the ground. Above his head is a decorated band of arch coming down to the shoulders at the sides. He wears *patra-kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, thick *yajñōpavīta*, *bāhuvaḷaya*, *udarabandha*, a loin cloth and anklets.

The niche on the *grīvā* of the gateway contains an image of Subrahmaṇya facing east (Plate No. 32). He is a four armed deity riding on an elephant. His legs are placed on either side of the neck behind the ears of the elephant. He holds a *śakti* in his upper left arm, the weapon in the upper right hand not being identifiable, the lower right hand in *abhaya*, and the lower left in the posture of holding an *aṅkuśa*. He wears a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*. His other ornaments are similar to those of the same deity in the *vimāna-grīvā* on the east side.

The southern *grīvā* contains in its niche a seated, four-armed Dakshiṇāmūrti. He carries *akshamālā* in his upper right hand, fire (*agni*) in his upper left hand, while the lower right hand is in *chinmudrā* and the lower left holds a *pustaka*. He is seated on a *bhadra-pīṭha* with his left leg resting on *apasmāra-purusha* and the right foot resting on the left thigh. His *jaṭās* emanate from the *makuṭa* to his sides. He wears *makara-kuṇḍala* on the right ear and *chakra-kuṇḍala* on the left ear, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta*, *udarabandha*, *bāhuvaḷayas*, *kaṅkaṇas* anklets, and *mañjīras* (*nūpura*). The *apasmāra* is shown lying below his foot, facing front.

The Vishṇu occupying the western niche of the *grīvā* is four-armed, holding a *prayōga-chakra* in the upper right, the upper left arm a *śaṅkha*, the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left placed on knee. He wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas*, *graivēyakas*, *yajñōpavīta*, *channavīra* (only the lower part is seen), *bāhuvaḷayas* with *kīrtimukha* ornamentation, *kaṅkaṇa*, *udarabandha*, *siṁhamukha* girdle and anklet. His dress-folds are revealed by a median band hanging over the ankle of the right foot, folded and placed on the pedestal. His left foot is shown resting on the floor. Except on the west, the *grīvā* of the gateway has Subrahmaṇya seated on an elephant in the east, seated Dakshiṇāmūrti in the south and seated Brahmā in the north in the same positions as that of the *vimāna*. The *grīvā* on the western side has Vishṇu seated instead of Yōga-Narasiṁha seen in the *vimāna*.

The northern niche contains Brahmā seated, four-armed three of the four faces shown, upper right hand holding *akshamālā*, upper left a *kuṇḍika*, lower right in *abhaya*, and lower left placed on the bent left-knee over the seat. The dress and ornaments shown in this image are similar to those found in the sculpture of Brahmā in the *grīvā* of the *vimāna*.

Name of the Monument : Paraśurāmēśvara temple (*Paraśirāmēśvaram*)
Location : Guḍimallam (*Tiruviṟperumbēḍu*), Kalahasti taluk.
Foundation inscription : Central shrine : Inscription of Vikramachōḷa, dated in

his 9th year (1126-27 A.D.), refers to the construction of this temple in stone (*tirukkaṟṟaḷi*) by Nāraṇadēvaṉ Puḍōli araśaṉ *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ, a Yādavarāya chief[37] (engraved on the west base of the central shrine).

Maṇḍapa : Earliest inscription belongs to Rājarāja III, 2nd year (1217-18 A.D.)[38] (engraved on the north base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine).

Prākāra (*Tiruchchuṟṟu*) : Earliest inscription referring to this belongs to Rājarāja III, 19th year (1234-35 A.D.) (engraved on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine).

Abhishēkha well (*Tirumañjuṇakkiṇaṟu-Tirumañjaṇa°*) : Inscription of Rājarāja III, dated in his 19th year (1234-35 A.D.), refers to the construction of this well by Puṉṉai-kiḷāṉ Śaraṇadēvaṉ Saṅgaṉ *alias* Kaṟkaṭarāyaṉ[39] (engraved on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine).

Ammaṉ shrine (*Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam*) : Dedicated to Maradagavalli-nāchchiyār. Earliest inscription referring to this belongs to Rājarāja III, dated in his 27th year (1242-43 A.D.)[40] (engraved on the west wall of the central shrine).

The temple of Paraśurāmīśvaram-ūḍaiyār at Guḍimallam, facing east, consists of a *garbhagṛiha*, the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, a *mahā-maṇḍapa*, an open pillared *maṇḍapa* in the south and an entrance gateway in the west. The *ēkatala-vimāna* is apsidal (*gaja-pṛishṭha*) on plan (Plate No. 8). Except the superstructure, the *vimāna* upto its *prastara* is of granite construction. The central shrine is a little extended apse. The *adhisṭhāna* (Plate No. 26) of the *vimāna* carries an *upāna*, *padmadaḷa* moulding, (*ūrdhvapadma-pīṭham*) giving an appearance, as if the entire *vimāna* rises from it, a high *jagati*, a *tripaṭṭa-kumuda*, these two being inscribed, a *kaṇṭha* bounded by *kaṁpas* above and below the intervening *paṭṭikā*, an *adhaḥpadma* moulding, a *varimāna* course, and a *prati*. No *vyāḷa* decoration or other ornamentation is seen in the *kaṇṭha*-recess in this *pratibandha* class of *adhisṭhāna*. The wall (*bhitti*) rising above the *prati* carries sixteen pilasters including a pair of *kuḍya-staṁbhas* flanking the niches on the south, west and north sides of the *vimāna*. The walls of the *vimāna* have *dēvakōshṭhas* enshrining the images of Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vishṇu and Brahmā. The pilasters of the semi-circular portion of the wall have square base, circular shaft, with festoon decoration at the tip, *iḍai-kaṭṭu* petal, decorated *kalaśa*, *taḍi*, bulbous *kuṁbha*, the *idoḷ* or *padma* not drawn into petals and the square, thin *palagai* (Plate No. 7). Above the extended circular shaft (*vīra-kaṇṭha*) are the corbels with tenon projections. The *uttiram* above this is succeeded by a *valabhī* carrying a projecting *bhūtavari* with groups of musicians depicted in between and a *liṅga* at an extreme on a square *pīṭha* of the *mañcha* variety. The *kapōta* over this *gaṇa* frieze is being interrupted by the cloister slabs packed up in the ceiling.

The superstructure which was probably of stone construction is now of brick work (Plate No. 8). The superstructure is an apse resembling the last Pallava temple seen at Tiruttaṇi, in Chingle put district. But in the latter example it is built of stone. Here unlike the Vīraṭṭāṇēśvara temple, it conforms to the plan of the *vimāna*. The *gaja-pṛishṭha vimāna* had come into existence from the 3rd century A.D. in Andhra region as seen in the early temples at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Chēzerla etc., from the 6th century A.D. in Karnāṭaka as seen in the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe and in Tamil Nadu in the 7th to

10th centuries A.D. as seen in the early Pallava structure at Mahābalipuram (Māmallapuram), in the late Pallava temples at Tiruttaṇi and at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam, in the Chōḷa temple at Tiruśūlam and in the Māśilāmaṇīśvara temple at Tirumullaivāyal. The *grīvā* has niches containing images in stucco on the cardinal directions. Over this is an apsidal *śikhara* with a *māhānāśikā* in the east face and on the top a *padmadaḷa* carrying a row of *stūpis*. The gable arch of the *mahānāśikā* bears the stucco relief of a shrine in miniature and two *pañjaras*, one on either side. The *grīvā* has niches on the three cardinal points and they have *kūḍu* arches above each with a *siṁhamukha* surmounting on it. This crowning member gives an elegant appearance to the superstructure.

The *ardha-maṇḍapa* in continuation of the central shrine is coeval with it. Its *adhishṭhāna* repeats all the component parts of the main *vimāna*. In the beginning of its wall portion, there are the two *Kuḍyastaṁbhas* cantoning the corners besides the four other *kuḍyastaṁbhas* on its north and south walls containing the inscriptions of Rājarāja III. They have the features of square bases, octagonal shafts, *kaṭṭu*, *taḍi*, *kalaśa*, *kuṁbha*, abacus (*idaḷ*) a square *palagai*, square *vīra-kaṇṭha* and tenon corbels. The rafter frame work rests on the *valabhī* following the *vājana*, after the *uttira* moulding. The outer door-frame has small pilasters and scroll work ornamentation. The wall of the *maṇḍapa* has niches flanked by pilasters showing similar components and surmounted by the *tōraṇa* arches over the lintel projections as seen over the niches of the *vimāna*.

The *kōshṭhas* contain the images of Gaṇēśā and Durgā respectively on the south and north walls. This has a crowning rectangular superstructure of which the *śikhara* alone is seen. It is a *śālā* with two gable ends at its sides with inward curve endings, the top of which has a row of three finials. The other two faces have *kūḍus*. This central complex has a circumambulatory passage (*pradakshiṇāpatha*), the ends of which are connected to the *mahā-maṇḍapa* with an entrance in the east. Again the *mahā-maṇḍapa* is entered through an open pillared *maṇḍapa* in its south which, in turn, is approached by a flight of steps. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has a similar profile showing the various component parts from *upāna* upto *uttira*. The entrance to this *maṇḍapa* is through a wide door-frame with two heavy and broad pilasters continued on the outer wall with a square base. These pilasters flanking the entrance contain, one on either side of the base, the reliefs of *śaṅkhanidhi* and *padmanidhi*.

The entrance of the open pillared *maṇḍapa*, very similar to a porch, was added at a later period to the *mahā-maṇḍapa*. It has an *adhisṭhāna*, partly covered outside by the earth. The base could be seen only from the *kaṇṭha* upwards. It is bounded by *kaṁpa* on either side. In between the *kaṇṭhas* is a *paṭṭikā*. Above the *kaṇṭha* is an *adhaḥpadma* moulding and a *prati* course. This *maṇḍapa* has four pilasters, a pair on either side of the entrance on the south face besides the cantoning pilasters. They have tenon corbels above the long shaft. The *maṇḍapa* has four pillars which are lion based with cubical upper and lower parts, octagonal shafts having squares carved on three sides and octagonal middle part. This faceted pillar consists of shaft (*kāl*) *kaṭṭu*, *kalaśa*, *taḍi*, bulbous *kuṁbha*, *padma* showing inverted petal decoration and square *palagai*. The corbels at the top show the lotus-bud (*pushpa-bōdikai*) or incipient (*pūmuṇai*) decoration, developed from the tenon corbel of the early Chōḷa pillar types. The flight of steps has balustrades on both the sides. The side-walls of the *maṇḍapa* contain the inscriptions. The cornice is surmounted by the frieze of *vyāḷa-vari* all around. The *kapōta* has on its central sloping surface some ornamental design without any *kūḍu*. This *kapōta*, which is extended to the sides also, is curved at the central portion. This portion of the cornice with *kūḍu* bears a *vyāḷavari* on it which runs all through. The underside of the roof-cornice bears a rafter frame-work and *pūmuṉai* corbel designs. There are no niches on the outer walls of this *maṇḍapa*. This *maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa* which do not seem to be an itegral part of the main *vimāna* have been added at a later date.

Ardha-maṇḍapa : The inscription referring to the *tiruchchuṟṟu* of this temple records that in the 19th year (1234-35 A.D.) of the reign of Rājarāja III a *tirumañjaṉakkiṇaṟṟu* was caused to be made by Puṉṉaikiḷān Śaraṇadēvaṉ Saṅgaṉ *alias* Karkaṭarāyan.[41] The epigraph is engraved on the south wall of this *maṇḍapa*, in front of the central shrine, which should have come into existence quite earlier. The earlier epigraph found on the north base of this structure is dated in the 2nd regnal year (1217-18 A.D.) of this king. But this *maṇḍapa* had been in existence before this date and since the structure is an extension of the apse, it can be postulated that this structural extension was made along with the stone construction of the *vimāna* in the 9th year of Vikramachōḷa's reign (1126-27 A.D.). The inscriptions of Rājarāja III were later engraved on the walls of the central shrine and the *maṇḍapa* in front of it.

Sculptures :

Naṭarāja (*Kūttapperumāḷ*) : Inscription of Rājakēsari (identified with Rājarāja I) dated in his 4th year (988-89 A.D.) refers to the image of Kūttapperumāḷ, set up by Madhurāntakaṉ Gaṇḍarādittaṉ, an officer under Rājarāja I (engraved on a slab set up in front of the shrine).[42]

Chaṇḍēśvaradēvar : Inscription of Vikramachōḷa, dated in his 8th year (1125-26 A.D.) refers to the setting up of this image[43] (engraved on the north base of the central shrine).

Kamalanāyakar : Inscription of Rājarāja III, dated in his 5th year (1220-21 A.D.) refers to this image set up by Imaiyōrnāyaka-āchāryan, son of Erukkāchāri[44] (engraved on the south base of the central shrine).

The sculptures in the *dēvakōshṭhas* of the main *vimāna* are of the middle Chōḷa period. The image of Dakshiṇāmūrti with the two *ṛishis* by his side in the niche in this temple built in stone in the reign of Vikramachōḷa reflect the qualities of the middle Chōḷa style (Plate No. 27). In the background above his head is shown a foliage (*śākhā*) design. He is shown seated and four-armed, carrying *akshamālā* in the upper right hand, *kuṇḍika* in the upper left arm, while the lower right is in *chinmudrā* and the lower left holds a *pustaka*. His right leg rests on the back of an *apasmāra-purusha* facing front and the left is placed over the right thigh. His *jaṭās* are depicted as emanating to the sides. He wears *makara-kuṇḍalas, hāras, bāhuvaḷayas, udarabandha, yajñōpavīta*, girdle and anklets. One of the *ṛishis* seated on his right holds his right hand in *chinmudrā*. The other *ṛishi* has his right hand placed on the pedestal (*cf* : the *ṛishis* around the image of Dakshiṇāmūrti in the *dēvakōshṭha* on the south wall of the *vimāna* in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara at Laḍḍigam). This figure is seated with his legs folded sidewards on which he has kept his left hand. The crawling *apasmāra* with his face turned front has kept both the hands on the ground. His right leg is shown bent and raised while his left also bent at knee, touches the ground at this point.

The image of Vishṇu on the *kōshṭha* of the west wall is a standing four-armed figure.

He holds a *chakra* in his upper right hand and *śaṅkha* in the upper left arm. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left in *kaṭyavalambita* pose. He wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta udarabandha*, *bāhuvaḷayas*, *kaṅkaṇa*, girdle, and *vastra*. The dress folds in the leg are well-nigh distinguishable. The stone in which this image is carved out shows ornamentation at the sides.

In the image of Brahmā in the *dēvakōshṭha* on the north wall of the *vimāna* is seen the attributes of *akshamālā* in the upper right hand and the *kamaṇḍalu* in the upper left arm. His lower right arm is held in *abhaya* pose while the lower left is in *kaṭyavalambita*. Of his four heads only three are seen. He wears *karaṇḍ-amakuṭa*, *patra-kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta*, *nāga(?) bāhuvaḷayas*, *udarabandha* with pearl decoration, *kaṅkaṇa*, broad girdle and the anklets. His dress-folds resemble that of the Vishṇu image on the same *vimāna*. The representation of these aspects has come to follow a conventionalized pattern.

The sophistication discerned in the image of Durgā in the northern wall niche of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, is comparable to that of the image of Vishṇu and Brahmā in the *vimāna* niches. The Dakshiṇāmūrthi in the southern wall niche of the *vimāna* is idealized and perfect in proportions. The subtle grace absent in the other *dēvakōshṭha* images point to its earlier date. Durgā is standing, four-armed, holding the *chakra* in the upper right and the *śaṅkha* in the upper left. The lower right is in *abhaya* while the lower left is in *kaṭi-hasta*. She is adorned with *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, *chakra-kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *kuchabandha*, *bāhuvaḷayas*, girdle decorated with pearls, *kaṅkaṇa*, very thin *yajñōpavīta*, undefined *udarabandha* and *mañjīras*. The elaboration of dress-folds and the ornaments as well as the crudely shown head of a buffalo at her foot very well attest to its late date.

Among the sculptures found in the *prākāra*, the image of Durgā is interesting besides the *saptamatṛikā* group, which is incomplete. She is shown standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, and is four-armed. The upper right-arm carries a *chakra* and the upper left a *śaṅkha*. The lower right is in *abhaya* and the left in *kaṭi-hasta*. The facial expression, general delineation, hair-do, the *kuchabandha* raised laterally by two thick bands, the representation of dress with much less elaboration, but for a flat band flowing on either side of the thigh, recall the tradition of an earlier period, though not earlier to the standing relief in the *garbhagṛiha*.

The image of Chaṇḍēśvara in a small shrine to the north of the sanctum is a two-armed sculpture, seated on a *padma-pīṭha* (Plate No. 36). He holds an *aṅkuśa* in the right hand and the left hand is on the thigh. His right leg is folded and placed on the *pīṭha*, while the left is bent and let loose, resting on the ground. His *jaṭā* is seen flowing to the sides. He wears *patra-kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *yajñōpavīta*, *udarabandha*, *kēyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas* and trousers.

The deity in the sanctum carries a facetted shaft topped by a bulged part which is cut laterally in the form of a standing sculpture in the front face. A square base covers partly the body of a seated image on which this relief is shown standing. The entire sculpture is carved out of black polished stone. The central rib is seen on the top of the shaft, above this relief figure. The top bulbous end of the shaft is smooth while the scooped out lower portion has facets. Its broader and upper part is chamfered and the sides cut laterally meet at its hind end. It is the mid-rib and the side ridges that have tempted some to identify it with the phallus (Plate No. 30).

The sculpture is a two-armed relief figure standing on the shoulders of a dwarf, squatting figure. The standing sculpture holds in the right hand a ram by its hind legs, the head of the ram together with its legs spread forward being found on the bottom at the level of the calf of the animal whose legs are turned sidewards. The left arm holds a waterpot and a *paraśu* rests upon the left shoulder. He is adorned with a *jaṭābhāra.* The *kēśabandha* falling into curled tresses on either side, reaching almost upto the ear lobes is held by a median, intersecting *kēśahāra.* The face is delineated in oval shape with a smooth forehead and raised cheek. The nose is broad and the thick lipped mouth above the chin has dimple at the ends. He wears *kuṇḍalas* having grooves. He wears a broad and well designed neck ornament, *bāhuvaḷayas* and five *kaṅkaṇas* (bracelets) impregnated with pearls and *ardhōruka.* The loin cloth appears to be of transparent nature for, the thigh and the organ are visible distinctly. This cloth is tied up by a band at the waist region with its knot at the right sides hanging in a looped fashion dripping down upto the organ. This sculpture, according to K.R. Srinivasan, represents Śiva standing on the head of a crouching *gaṇa,* and modelled after the image of a four-armed Śiva standing on a similar *gaṇa* found in the *dēvakōshṭha* of the south wall of the *vimāna* in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal. This figure of Śiva, as described by T.A. Gopinatha Rao, "stands astride upon the shoulders of a Rākshasa-the *apasmāra-purusha*-who is sitting on the ground on his haunches and supporting himself with his hands which are planted on the ground near the feet".[45] He has *jaṭā-makuṭa* on his head adorned like that of the standing figure and a decorated staff rising from the top of the *jaṭā,* the details of which are not clear. His eyes are bulged out, the nostrills wide open, and the teeth visible. He wears a *hāra* of beads round his neck, ornamental *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, the lobes of which are distended so as to hang down as far as the shoulders. The body of this crouching figure is not fully seen. His arms are lying limp on the sides and being covered by the *piṇḍikā*-like, square pedestal. He has a well-built body and a broad face.

Name of the Monument : Ċhennakēśava temple
Location : Sōmapāḷyam (Sōmapalle), Madanapalle taluk.
Foundation inscription and builder with reference : The date of the foundation of Chennakēśava temple is not known from any records. It appears that the temple complex was fairly big, covering a wide area in this village.

Description : This temple consists of three main shrines, besides nine sub-shrines, enclosed by a *prākāra* and an entrance *gōpura.* There is a *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* and a *Gollavāri-maṇḍapa.* In front of the temple is a highly ornamental *dhvaja-staṁbha* in stone, on a high base, which also carries decorations and friezes in series.

The central shrine (main shrine) consists of a *garbhagṛiha, ardha-maṇḍapa,* closed *mahā-maṇḍapa* and an open *mukha-maṇḍapa.* The *vimāna* is square on plan. It is two tiered (*dvitala*) having a *vṛittākāra-śikhara,* constructed out of brick (Plate No. 18). The *adhishṭhāna* mouldings consist of *upāna, jagati, tripaṭṭa-kumuda, kaṇṭha* with *galapādas, paṭṭikā* and *prati.* The *praṇāla* which comes out of the *kaṇṭha* part of the *adhishṭhāna* shows a slightly curved end, unlike that of the Vijayanagara period. The *bhitti* is bereft of *dēvakōshṭhas* and bears fish design on some of its slabs. On the west face a miniature representation of a *vimāna* has been added, the height of which reaches as far as the *prastara.* This replica-shrine in more or less like the sub-shrines shown as adjuncts of the main shrine in place of niche enshrining the images. But here the wall is empty. This structure is supported by two pilasters showing *pushpa śākhā* ornamentation. The *kapōta* above this carries *gaṇa* and other dancing figures. The superstructure in the wall portion contains projections simulating the niches with a rectangular lintel above. Over the *grīvā* is a bulging *śikhara.* All these organs above the *prastara* of this addition are entirely of brick masonry.

Above the *uttira* in stone rises the brick superstructure of the main *vimāna.* This includes the *kapōta* also. Although the *prastara* is not clearly defined, the *tala*, *grīvā* and *śikhara* are well discernible. Over the *prastara* is the *hāra* decoration. This *hāra* on its rear face appears to have joined up with the wall of the succeeding *tala* leaving no movement space for circumambulation. It consists of *kūṭa*, *kōshṭha* (*śālā*) and *pañjara* in a row all around the second *tala* having a deep recess in the *hārāntara.* In other words, there is an attempt to keep the *bhitti* of this *tala* well behind the *hāra* details in order to show the full details of the *kūṭa*, *śālā* and *nāsikās*, thus showing a transition between the *arpita* and *anarpita* variety of super-structure. It is this that gives a look to the super-structure a pyramidal form in spite of its stunted stature. The *śālā* has stucco figures perhaps of the different forms of Vishṇu, against the space in the middle. The rafter frame work of the second tala does not show any *vyāḷavari* but has frontward projections all along. Even the corbel of the pilasters on this wall is of plain bevel type. The cornice has a square base above. Four seated figures of Garuḍa are perched looking out from the points of this base corresponding to the four corners of the second *tala.* The *śikhara* above the *grīvā* is in the shape of a dome (Plate No. 19). The circular *grīvā* has four niches at the cardinal points and they have a big ornamental *kūḍu* above each. The figures topping it are not distinguishable, as they have been mutilated There are smaller *kūḍus* at the other four corner points. Neither the niches nor the pilasters surmounting them at the corners of the *grīvā* wall could be made out. The bigger *kūḍus* are geometrically placed in relation to the images in the *grīvā* niches. The niches at the cardinal points of the *grīvā* bear the images of Lakshmīnṛisiṁha on the west and seated Vishṇu on the north. The other two figures on the east and south *grīva-dēvakōshṭhas* have been damaged. The *prastara* of the main *vimāna*, a brick structure, is simple and crude. Its construction is not good enough to distinguish the *kapōta* and its *kūḍus* on the one hand and the friezes, on its mouldings. The plain wall bears slabs with fish decoration, characteristic of the temples of the Vijayanagara period. It is possible that these stones were replaced for the originals, at the time of reconstruction. Another feature is a miniature *vimāna* like structure added to the wall on the west face of the *vimāna.*

The square *garbhagṛiha* enshrines a standing image of Vishṇu. The door-way leading to the *garbhagṛiha* shows *pushpa-śākhās* with a lotus design on the *lalāṭabiṁba.*

Ardha-maṇḍapa : The *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine is also square on plan, but narrower in size. This has an *adhishṭhāna* similar to that of the main *vimāna* in respect of its mouldings. The exterior wall surface is also plain. The entrance to this *maṇḍapa* is through an ornamental door-way, which is being flanked by the *dvārapālas* one on either side. This door-way has the *padma-śākhā* and *pushpa-śākhā* on its left side and the chain design of the right. The extreme end shows *pushpa-śākhā* issuing out of the *makara* mouth.

It seems that, originally, the *ardha-maṇḍapa* had a porch with a pillar facade. The pilasters of this *maṇḍapa* have both rolled corbels as well as the later developed corbels showing *pushpa-bōdhikā i.e.*, (*pūmuṇai*) ornamentation. This *maṇḍapa* is approached through a flight of steps flanked on either side by two short pillars carrying four *pushpa-bōdhikā* corbels above and figure carvings below.

Mahā-maṇḍapa : The door-way of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* has *pushpa-śākhā* ornamentation like that of *ardha-maṇḍapa*. The circle formed by this *pushpa-śākhā*, issued out of the mouth of *makara*, encloses standing *latā-bhañjikā* figure holding a *latā* in her right hand. This creeper terminates at the top in a semi-circle showing a swan motif, whose beak touches its curved tail. The extreme left has a similar *pushpa-śākhā* issuing out of the *makara's* mouth. A relief in standing posture with his legs crossed and playing flute with his hands is found carved above the *makara* motif at the bottom. Above this is a frieze of *haṁsa*, facing in alternate directions in the circles thus formed by the *pushpa-śākhā*. These two upright columns on either side of the door-way have miniature reliefs of *kūṭa* at their top. Above the door-lintel is seen a relief of *śālā*. All these shrine-reliefs are connected by a *kapōta* with *kūḍus* both at its base and on the *śikhara*. There are figures of seated Vishṇu against the *kūṭa* and Rāma with Sītā and Hanumān respectively on his left and right against the *śālā* ornamentation. Besides, the dimunitive figures of Anantaśāyi Vishṇu the scene of *samudra-manthana*, etc., are exquisitely carved above the door-way. Still above, the *ūrdhavapadma* in the *valabhī*, which runs all through the *maṇḍapa* is interrupted by the Gajalakshmī panel on the east.

The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has an *adhishṭhāna* which differs from that of the *vimāna* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in having additional members like *adhaḥpadma*, and a *kapōta* embellished with *adhaḥpadma* and *kūḍus*. The *tripaṭṭa-kumuda* above the *padma* moulding is very thin and the *kaṇṭha* below the *kapota*, showing developed *kūḍus* is rather high; so also its *galapāda*. Like the *vimāna* and *ardha-maṇḍapa*, here also the wall is bereft of niche decorations. But, on them are seen erotic scenes. Unlike the main *vimāna*, the *prastara* has the *valabhī* showing *ūrdhva-padma*, while the *vājana* below it depicts an *adhaḥpadma*. All along these mouldings run figures of Agni with two heads riding a ram, Gaṇēśa, *gaṇa* figures, elephant riders, *haṁsa* figures, Yama on a he-buffalo, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa etc. The *kapōta* above these two mouldings showing *adhaḥpadma* carries *kūḍu* decorations. These *kūḍus* reveal divine figures like standing, four-armed Vishṇu on all sides; but the north side has the figures of horse riders, Nirṛiti riding a horse-like ass, Brahmā riding on swan, standing Nṛisiṁha, standing Vishṇu, Bhūvarāha, two monkeys in cohabiting posture, etc. The *āliṅga* moulding above the *kapōta* has an *adhaḥpadma* moulding showing decorations of figures such as Bālakṛishṇa, camel riders, drummers, musicians, *gaṇas*, dancing figures and animal motifs.

The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has a *navaraṅga* formed by four pillars in the centre. This *navaraṅga* has a dome built on a horizontal arch. This domed ceiling is carved with *padma* designs in two large concentric circles and floral patterns in series in the centre. In between these two are the *gaṇa* figures placed in the four cardinal points. Again another row shows the placement of eight *gaṇa* figures. An outer ornamental and octagonal frame work of this dome is embellished with standing female figures, serving as bracket figures. The brackets which lend support to the ceiling of this *navaraṅga* also are highly ornamental.

The pillars of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* carry *pushpa-bōdhikā* corbel capitals at the top. Some of the pilasters have rolled corbels too. The pillars have a *pīṭha*, lower cubical *śaduram*, the *padma-bandha* ending in *nāga-bandha* corners, octagonal lower part of the shaft, upper square *śaduram*, octagonal *kalaśa* showing *padma* decorations, octagonal *taḍi* and a flattish circular *kuṁbha*, *pāli* which assumes drooping petal ends on its upper edge, integrated *phalaka*, square-sectioned, *vīrakaṇṭha*, not clearly seen, followed by intersecting corbels. The corbels being longer and well developed are of *pushpa-bōdhikā* type, the tip of the lotus bud found connected by a median band to the central core. The carvings on the pillars in the square *śadurams* of these pillars of the central *aṅkaṇa* show figures of divinities among whom the incarnations of Vishṇu in the north-west, Nṛisiṁha in the act of killing Hiraṇya, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa in the north-east, Yōga-Nṛisiṁha, Garuḍārūḍha Vishṇu, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, kneeling Bālakṛishṇa, scenes from the story of *Gajēndra-mōksha* in sequence in the south-east, Rati figure, Muraḷī-Kṛishṇa, Kinnara, Kāḷīya-Kṛishṇa etc. in the south-west deserve mention.

Mukha-maṇḍapa : The *mukha-maṇḍapa* preceding the *mahā-maṇḍapa* is divided into three bays by means of four rows of plllars. The central pillars and the pillars in a row of ten each show the *pushpa-bōdhika* type of corbels of a later period. The two middle rows of pillars have figure carvings of *gajavyāḷas* with riders. The ceiling of this *maṇḍapa* contains paintings revealing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

There are three shrines in the *prākāra* in the south-western corner, all facing east like the central shrine. They have no superstructure over them. The door-frames of these shrines are highly ornamental with elaborate *śākhā* decoration. Each one of the shrines has Gajalakshmī on the *lalāṭa-biṁba*. The pilasters on them have roll-corbels. The shrine to the north of the central one has *pushpa-śākhā* whereas the shrine on the south has *padma-śākhā* on the left of the door-frame and chain design on the right of it. The central and the northern shrines are flanked by two lady devotees standing against the facade one on either side and making offerings. The southern shrine has two ṛishis flanking the door-way, standing and holding a *kuṇḍikā* in one hand. The *dvārapālas* or *dvārapālikās* are not seen at the entrance of these shrines.

Northern shrine : The pilasters against the entrance of this shrine has an ornamental door-jamb and a *lalāṭa-biṁba* as mentioned above. The lady figure, on the right of the door-way with offerings in her hands and body turned a little, faces towards the entrance. The other figure on the left of entrance is shown facing front. The *kapōta* over the *lalāṭa-biṁba* has leaf designs and carries seated *gaṇa* figures in different attitudes. The cornice of the door-way is followed by a rectangular panel with a projection in the middle bounded by *ūrdhvapadma* mouldings above and below. The panel above shows figures of Rāma, Sītā and Hanumān all in seated posture with two attendants in the panels, one on either side of it. The *kapōta* above this stone panel shows an *adhaḥpadma* moulding, having *kūḍus* on it. Below the *uttara* is another *ūrdhvapadma* moulding.

The pilasters are made of a different stone unlike the black granite pillars of the raised *maṇḍapa*. Though the pilasters are of different decorations they are akin to each other in having *gaṇa* at their bottoms. The pilasters to the left of the northern shrine consist of 3 bays having standing images in different attitudes. To the right of the northern shrine and in between this and the shrine in the middle the pilaster has *pushpa-śākhā* ornamentation, above the figure of a standing *vīṇādhāri* of exquisite workmanship. These pilasters have rolled corbels, surmounting the square capitals, the arms of which show *gaṇa* figures.

The lintels of the central and southern shrines are highly ornamental and reliefs depicted on them are rather sharp in the former shrine than in the latter. Above the door-way of the shrine in the middle is a relief depicting the images of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā standing, with Hanumān and other attendant figures. The facade of this shrine has features similar to those of the shrine in the north, in having *pushpa-śākhā* decorations, a female figure below the *śākhā* of the pilasters, in the representation of flanking female figures carrying offerings in their hands and in the portrayal of *gaṇas* over the door-frame.

The shrine to the south of the central sub-shrine has a chain design on the right of the entrance and the *pushpa-śākhā* in between this and the central subshrine. The entrance of this southern shrine has two *ṛishis* flanking, standing and holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in one of their hands. A miniature representation of this pair is shown on the door-jambs. The pilaster to the right of entrance of this shrine shows five female figures standing in the corners in a row, at length, and playing on different musical instruments.

Above the door-way showing Gajalakshmī on the *lalāṭabiṁba* is the *kapōta* moulding carrying *gaṇas*. The *kapōtas* just below the ceiling and above a group of relief figures, carry *kūḍu* decorations. The relief in the centre show a four-armed, standing Vishṇu attended by two of his wives *viz.*, Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī. And this is followed by two other panels on either side having a row of male and female figures respectively to its right and left. At the square bottom of the two pilasters, to the right and left of the shrine door-way, are small dancing figures.

The raised *maṇḍapa* in front of the three sub-shrines in the south-western corner of the *prākāra* is a highly ornamental structure in black granite construction. The date of this structure may be assigned to the late Vijayanagara period, on the basis of the pillar features and the well-developed and elaborate details shown in the *adhishṭhāna* mouldings of this *maṇḍapa*. Its mouldings consist of *jagatī*, *paṭṭikā* decorated with *gaṇa* figures and elephant motifs and in the recesses a *haṁsa-vari*, *adhaḥpadma*, *kaṇṭha* with *kampas* above and indistinct *padma* below *tripaṭṭa-kumuda* with an *adhaḥpadma* moulding, a low *kaṇṭha* which seems to have been merged with the *kumuda* moulding below (though not really), *kapōta* decoration with an *adhaḥpadma*, *kaṇṭha* bounded by *kaṁpas* on either side, an *ūrdhvapadma* and *prati*. In the middle of the projected portion of the *adhishṭhāna*, against the moulding of *paṭṭikā*, *kaṇṭha* and *kumuda*, is shown a small relief of seated and four-armed Garuḍa. A row of male and female figures in various attitudes (dance-poses ?) are shown against the *kapōta*, *kaṇṭha* and *prati* of the *adhishṭhāna*.

The *maṇḍapa* has highly ornamental pillars with smaller pillars in their front. They have standing male and female figures against four miniature pillars attached to the main shaft. The bigger pillars have stellar bases followed by a shaft, alternately square and octagonal, showing *pushpa-śākhā* and miniature *kūṭa* decorations. They have evolved features at the capital components. It can be said that these pillars must have come into existence during the late Vijayanagara period as the predominence of the *pusha-bōdhikā* and other intricate details of ornamentations and embellishments show. These pillars show some dimunitive figures on their base and *śaduram* in the capital portion. The corbels are well-defined, showing a series of lotus petal decorations, terminating in a bud. The smaller pillars attached to the shaft have a small base, and ornamental shaft, *kaṭṭu*, *kuṁbha*, *pāli*, the upper edges of which are shown with drooping petal ends and corbels with *pushpa-bōdhikās*. The portion above the capital organ attached to the shaft of the bigger pillars has a replica of a *vimāna* with *śālā-śikharas* in low relief. The *uttara* on the east and west facing sides of this raised *maṇḍapa* have Telugu inscriptions in three lines each, engraved in characters of *c.* 16th century. The *valabhī* is decorated with lotus petal ornamentation.

The *maṇḍapa* has an empty ornamental pedestal with animal motifs in the corners, besides the minute carvings discussed above. It carries a superstructure consisting of a *tala* followed by a square *grīvā* and *śikhara*, built in brick. The *hāra* of this *tala* has the decoration of *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *śālā*, *pañjara* in a row on all the sides. The wall portion is almost found covered by the *hāra* decoration. The rafter frame work in brick masonry is seen rather distinctly. The *prastara*, in a regular fashion, carries *kūḍus* in a row but not well defined.

The *grīvā* has images in the cardinal directions. These *vimāna-dēvatas* presumably reprsent the various forms of Vishṇu, as evident from the deity on the north *i.e.*, Vaikuṇṭhanātha perumāḷ. The *grīvā* images are so prominently shown that their upper part extend as far upto the lower edge of the bulbous *śikhara*. The *śikhara* has foliage (*koḍikkarukku*) ornamentation of them at the corners and two rows of *piṇḍi*-like slab elaborations. The finial or *stūpi* is not seen.

The front *maṇḍapa*, which has this raised structure has four pillars with fluted shafts and cubical capitals. The corbels of these pillars bear roll ornamentation, with a *gaṇa* figure in their arms. The pillars are carved on its faces with fine reliefs, depicting the various incarnations of Vishṇu. Thus, two such reliefs in two different pillars portray the various aspects of Nṛisiṁha like Lakshmīnṛisiṁha, Yōga-Nṛisiṁha, Nṛisiṁha in the act of killing Hiraṇya, Sthāṇu-Nṛisiṁha etc., and in two other pillars different aspects of Rāma.

The *mukha-maṇḍapa* has a small *dvitala*, chariot-shaped shrine, in its front, dedicated to Garuḍa, facing the deity in the *garbhagṛiha*. This *ratha*-shrine resembles the Viṭṭhalēśvara ratha-type of the temple at Hampi. In a number of temples of the Chōḷa period in Tamilnadu, the *mahā-maṇḍapa*, the *agra-maṇḍapa* and the porch are fashioned as a wheeled chariot (*ratha*). The practice of constructing the various *maṇḍapas* in the device of a chariot was more popular during the 12th-13th centuries A.D., in the Tamil country than in the Andhra region. While the *maṇḍapas* and the central shrine have been built in the form of *rathas* a few seperate structures or shrines are also modelled in this shape.[46]

The shrine of Garuḍa modelled on wheeled chari ot pattern (Plate No. 28) has the shape of a *vimāna* like the central shrine of Sāraṅgapāṇi temple at Kumbakōṇam, Tanjore district. In the latter example the horses are shown in front of the *garbhagṛiha*, as if in the process of drawing the chariot. In the temple of Chennakēśava now under study, the wheels are at the sides in the *adhisṭhāna* portion of this shrine. They have axle, linch-pin and tyre design sculptured in proportions. The horses have been damaged but for the one mutilated figure on the right of the shrine entrance. They have been attached to the *adhisṭhāna* of the shrine in the front face, simulating a chariot (*ratha*).

The shrine of Garuḍa in the shape of a *vimāna* has an *adhisṭhāna*, *bhitti*, *prastara*, *grīvā* and *śikhara*. Its *adhisṭhāna* consists of *upāna*, ill-defined *kumuda* etc. An attempt to introduce the *kumuda* is seen from a semi-circular curved moulding above the *upāna*, a *kaṇṭha* which is shown recessed, with two *kampa*-course, one above and one below it, the *padma* above the *kaṇṭha*, not differentiated from the *prati*, though the drooping edge petal decoration is seen at the corners and thick *prati* at the top. If the semi-circular moulding above the *upāna* and below the *kaṇṭha* is conceived as *kumuda*, then the base of this shrine may be classified under the *pāda-bandha* type of *adhisṭhāna*.

The wall above the *prati* level is plain and bereft of any ornamentation or pilasters. There are no *dēvakōshṭhas* on the wall. The *prastara* is very simple and does not show any decorations besides the *kūḍus* it carry. Below the cornice the mouldings of *uttara*, *valabhī* and *vājana* are plain. Above the roof-cornice is shown a row of recumbent *vyāḷas*. The *grīvā* and *śikhara* are square in shape. The niches of the *grīvā* have images in the four cardinal directions. The wall portions of the *grīvā* containing the pilasters at the corners, show *pushpa-śākhā* ornamentation. These small pilasters resemble the *galapādas* of ornamental variety seen in the *adhishṭhāna* of the *vimāna*. The recessed surface between them shows various standing figures of dimunitive size. Above these decorative pilaster-types are shown in successive rows festoon decorations, birds in a row and *śākhā* ornamentation. The *grīvā-dēvakōshṭhas* of the miniature shrine type carry the decorated *kūḍu* ornamentation shown against the *śikhara*, terminating in *siṁha-mukha* finial. The *pushpa-śākhā* issuing out of the lion's mouth in the *śikhara*, on each side, encloses a well-carved seated figure on the south side. The *grīvā* has Vishṇu images on the three cardinal directions and on the north, the image of seated Nṛisimha. Over the *grīvā* the *padma* is shown giving an appearance as though the *śikhara* is conceived as arising out of *padma-kōśa* ornamentation. The lower and upper portions of the *śikhara* carry the *ūrdhva-padma* and *adhaḥ-padma* mouldings. Besides these, it has on the edges the foliage (*koḍikkarukku*) ornamentation also. That there should have been a finial at the top of the *śikhara* is evident from the socket seen in the centre.

An inscription of Vīrapratāpa Sadāśivadēva-mahārāya,[47] dated Śaka 1480 (=1558 A.D.) refers to the grant of money for the worship of the deity Kōṭa Chauṇḍēśvaramma of Sōmapalle, an *agrahāra* of Rāmagiridurga. To the north of the Vishṇu shrine, is a simple structure dedicated to the consort of Chennakēśava, the main deity of the temple at Sōmpalle. This *dēvi* shrine has been identified by some scholars with that of the goddess Kōṭa Chauṇḍēśvaramma mentioned in the inscription of the Sadāśiva-mahārāya. This shrine has a square *garbhagṛiha*, an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and a *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The central shrine of the goddess in this temple consists of an *adhishṭhāna*, plain *bhitti* and has no super-structure above the wall portion. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* has a door way with decorations and *Gajalakshmī* on the *lalāta-biṁba*.

The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has two rows of three pillars each having tenon-corbels and a row of pilasters. The shaft of these pillars is alternatively square and octagonal and the octagonal *kaṭṭu* is shown in between the *śadurams*. The *śadurams* in these pillars are embellished with figures.

The entrance into the temple is through a flight of steps, originally flanked by two elephant balustrades, pieces of which are lying nearby, which is now shown with simple balustrades only. This is through a *gōpura* of stone base and brick superstructure. The brick superstructure has been partly damaged.

To the north of this *gōpura* is a *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* now called *Gollavāri-maṇḍapa*. The Kalyāṇa-*maṇḍapa* is a raised structure and it has a highly ornamental base. This structure is stellar on plan. The pillars of this *maṇḍapa* are of fluted nature and carry *pushpa-bōdhikā* corbels at the top. At the hind end of this *maṇḍapa* is shown a niche on the wall. The small pilasters of this niche has a square base with an *ūrdhva-padma* below it, the shaft showing wavy *śākhā* ornamentation, the festoon decoration, the *kuṁbha*, *padma*, and the thick *phalaka*. It has a *makara-tōraṇa* ending in *siṁha-mukha* finial which again is surmounted by a *śālā śikhara*. The *śālā* decorations carry three finials within the inward projections of the gable ends and a *kūḍu* showing ornamental scrolls issuing out of the mouth of the *siṁha-mukha* against the *śālā* roof. The pilasters are carved with portrait sculptures and other male and female figures all in standing posture. A pair of such portrait sculptures with royal head-dress, sword, etc., are shown standing in *añjali* pose like devotees and flanking the niche, one on either side.

ICONOGRAPHY

The general disposition of the sculptures on the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the walls and *grīvā* of the *vimāna* follow the usual pattern of Gaṇēśa, Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vishṇu, Brahmā and Durgā on the walls and Subrahmaṇya, Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vishṇu and Brahmā at the cardinal points of the *grīvā*.

If we follow the chronological order of the types of temples described above, the sculptures show developments in their making coinciding with the types in which they are fitted. To begin with Toṇḍaimānāḍ sculptures on the walls of the *vimāna*, of Gaṇēśa, Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vishṇu, Brahmā and Durgā show the characteristics of an early stage. The most important characteristics is the rough working of the ornamentation on the figures. They just look like projections of certain geometrical patterns without even a pretension of depicting ornamentation. There are no intricate workings on the decorations of the dress or on the ornamentation. The loose stone sculpture of Durgā shows out the difference prominently in the figuration of ornaments and also the type of stone used. The sculptures, even as the style indicates, can be assigned to the beginning of the times of Parāntaka I[48] which is also the period of the construction of the temple.

The temple at Yātavākili, the next in the chronological order, has sculptures on the *grīvā* and none on the walls. This temple which was built in the period of Rājēndra I[49] is said to have been renovated in the time of Rājarāja III[50]. It is somewhat puzzling to note that if the sculptures do not show the characteristics of Rājarāja III, even as the architecture does not, they do not show the characteristics of Rājēndra I either. It is possible that these sculptures were touched up in the course of the renovation making it almost impossible for us to trace clearly the ornamentations, the dress, etc. (Plate No. 29). The figures look as though they have been coated with some thick material without of course affecting the form and proportions of the figures. But yet one feature comes to our help, the bulging part of the base of the head-dress over the forehead seems to be typical of Rājēndra's times. Beyond this the sculptures do not lend themselves more to precise dating and classification.

On the other hand, the six loose sculptures representing six of the Saptamātṛikās excluding Indrāṇi lying in the temple have remarkably striking features bringing them nearer to the date of the construction of the temple. The ornamentation is simple. The depiction of the upper hands holding their attributes not on the tip of the two fingers, but clutched entirely with all the fingers, is an entirely early feature.

The third type, represented by Laḍḍigam belongs to the time of Kulōttuṅga I[51].

Here again, we find the striking coincidence between the architecture and the sculptures. The decorations pertaining to ornament and dress, shown from head to foot, are very well marked. The *channavīra* ornamentation, the *udarabandha*, *yajñōpavīta*, the waist-band and the coiffeurs of the dress are highly developed with intricate workmanship. The forms and facial features of all the sculptures show some grace except in those of Brahmā and Vishṇu on the walls of the *vimāna*. The sculpture of Brahmā does not show any curve on either side of the body and the facial feature of Vishṇu is not at all pleasant and one may have to doubt whether it could be the work of the same artist who produced the other sculptures on the wall.

The apsidal temple at Guḍimallam has the sculptures of Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vishṇu and Brahmā in the apse portion and of Gaṇēśa and Durgā in the *ardha-maṇḍapa*. These sculptures bear highly developed ornamentations. Their facial features reflect a benign look. The sculptures of Vishṇu, Brahmā and Durgā exhibit the uniform standing posture with *abhaya* and *kaṭihastas*. The sculpture of Dakshiṇāmūrti is shown as sitting under a creeper spread all around his head. This is met with for the first time here. The entire sculpture, including the pedestal on which he is seated, is placed on a small make-believe platform so that the sculpture occupies the niche fully unlike in the case of other sculptures. The form of the body, lean and less sturdy in appearance, probably on account of the meditative pose, shows a distinctive contrast to those of other sculptures which are robust.

Liṅga : *Paraśurāmēśvara temple*, *Guḍimallam* :

The Liṅga in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam has been the subject of intense discussion and it deserves some consideration here. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, who has discussed this at length, has summarized the opinions expressed by scholars before his times and has come to the conclusion that this Liṅga is to be associated with the phallic cult. This has been assigned "to the first century at least of the Christian era, if not to a still earlier period"[52]. K.R. Srinivasan has made the following observations : "The solitary example of the Guḍimallam Liṅga, on the northern borders of the Tamil country, could not be as old as 2nd-1st centuries B.C. as held by some, since for one thing, stone liṅgas did not exist in South India at that time. It could represent only the southward extension of the phallic and fertility cults noticed in the Āndhra and Chālukya areas which ended on the borders of the Tamil country. This stray example is an apsidal stone temple of about the eleventh century A.D., and there are no other associated antiquities to show such a very early date as the centuries B.C. Here the two-armed figure said to represent Śiva stands on the head of a crouching *gaṇa*, and this concept, occurs for the first time in the figure of a four-armed Śiva standing on the crouching *gaṇa* on the southern wall niche of the *vimāna* in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal. The supposed resemblance of the Guḍimallam liṅga figure to Sāñchi *yaksha* can at best be only accidental and not conclusive of its date."[53]

Prof. T.V. Mahalingam has obviously referred to Sri K.R. Srinivasan's view, in so far as its dating is concerned, in his discussion of the topic running as follows :

"The image here is both iconic and aniconic as a male figure, usually identified with Śiva who is represented in it as the very personification of the liṅga and shown as such. It was assigned by a few scholars to the first century B.C. on the basis of the supposed similarity of the decorative details and physiognomy of the figure to those of the sculptures from Sāñchi and Bhārhut. But recent studies have tended to show that this image is assignable to a much later period, roughly to about the fifth or sixth century A.D. It would therefore be evident that the earlier date of the Guḍimallam Liṅga suggested on the basis of decorative details it bears, is about five or six centuries earlier than its real or probable date. It is equally risky to depend exclusively on iconographic characteristics as many early images were cast or sculpt out at a time when iconographic injunctions were still in the process of crystallization with considerable scope for flexibility in the rendering of details."[54]

It is found that all the scholars who had discussed this topic agree in one respect that this Liṅga is to be associated with the phallic cult.[55] The top member of this Liṅga has led all the scholars to identify it as symbolic of the phallus. But it must be noted that this is the only Liṅga, a full-figure and with this type of top feature. The Chennittalai example, cited above by T.A. Gopinatha Rao bears no resemblance whatsoever to the Guḍimallam one except in a suggestion of the top member alone without exposing the full Liṅga.[56] The concept of phallus associated with Liṅga worship has another important component called *yōni*. This is totally absent at Guḍimallam. In all known cases the Liṅga does not occur without a *yōni*. Therefore, the absence of a *yōni* at Guḍimallam weighs heavily against its being considered as symbolic of the phallus. Hence, if this is considered to be a Liṅga, its evaluation has to rest on the characteristics of the Liṅgas described in the *āgama*. It is well-known that all the Liṅgas noticed in the discussions bear a drawing on its top portion suggesting the form of the top portion scooped on the Guḍimallam Liṅga. This seems to be the only instance where the portion of the Liṅga upto the top portion has been scooped providing space at the same time for the figures of the *gaṇa* and the deity on its shoulders in bold relief.

The top member of the Liṅga is described as *śirōvartana* in Āgamic literature. Four types of *śirōvartanas* are referred to *viz.*, *Chhatra*[57], *Tripusha*, *Kukkuṭāṇḍa* and *Budbuda*.

No study seems to have been made so far in trying to sort out the various Liṅgas available all over the country on the basis of these *śirōvartanas*. Such an attempt being beyond the scope of this thesis, it is preferred to confine the classification of this Liṅga from the point of view of *śirōvaratana*. The *śirōvartana* of the Guḍimallam Liṅga presents the nearest appearance to an umbrella (*chhatra*) though in a reverse form, or, in other words, it is designed with the concave and the point alternating (Plate No. 30). Yet the net effect of an umbrella being held over the carved figure is quite clear.

The absence of the *yōni* symbol in the Guḍimallam Liṅga appears to be significant and also very uncommon, the known later Liṅgas being always shown with the *yōni*. Can it show the earlier form of Liṅga without the *yōni* appendage which according to K.R. Srinivasan came during the Chālukyan times ? Even in the Pallava temples the earliest Liṅgas are with the *yōnis*. So there is every possibility of the Guḍimallam Liṅga being considered as assignable to the Pre-Chālukya and the Pre-Pallava period.

Subrahmaṇya :

Among the various sculptures of the temples in Chittoor discussed above, the east facing sculptures on the *grīvā* of the *vimāna* in temples at Yātavākili, Laḍḍigam and Vāvilitōṭa have been identified by me as Subrahmaṇya. Scholars have identified them with Indra. All the figures except the one at Yātavākili (Plate No. 31) have four-armed Subrahmaṇya. Otherwise they are all similar in so far as their iconographical features are concerned. The figures on the *gōpura* (Plate No. 32) and *vimāna* (Plate No. 33) at Laḍḍigam have been identified as Indra.[58]

The temples at Yātavākili and Vāvilitōṭa, not to speak of their sculptures, have not been studied so far by any scholar. Three of the sculptures of Subrahmaṇya in these temples have four-arms while the one at Yātavākili has only two arms. The identification of all the four with Subrahmaṇya can be substantiated by the information collected from the *āgamas*.

The following extracts from *āgamas*[59] are clear regarding this :

कुमारं पूर्वदिग्भागे दक्षिणामूर्तिकं यमे
वारुणे तु नृसिंहं वा केशवं वापि कारयेत्
बह्माण मुत्तरे देशे स्कन्धरे तु विशेषतः
पश्चिमद्वार हर्म्ये तु स्कंदं पश्चिमके कुरु
विदिक्षु वृषभन्यस्त्वा महादिक्षु च मूर्त्तयः
स्कंदङ्कृत्वा तु तत्पूर्वे याम्ये श्रीकण्ठनायकम्
शाश्त्रार्थानि मुनीनां तु मुक्तयर्थं प्रोच्चरन्गुरुः
पश्चिमे नारसिंहं च सौम्ये वा विन्यसेद्वधः
ब्रह्माणमुत्तरे कृत्वा चतुर्वक्तसमायुतम्
वृषस्य तालमूर्ध्वे च ह्यासनाः कण्ठसंक्षिताः
स्कंद वै पूर्वदिग्भागे दक्षिणामूर्ति दक्षिणे
पश्चिमे विष्णुमूर्ति वा लिङ्गोद्भवमथापि वा
धातारमुत्तरे विप्र भारस्थाने तु वर्जयेतू
एक तलं विमान लक्षणं सप्तविंशः पटलः
एक पाद युतं ब्रह्मविष्णुसंयुक्तमेव वा
ईदृग्रूपसमायुक्तं महेशं वाग्रपि विन्यसेतू
तले तले तु देवांश्च गके वाप्येवमाचरेत्
कचिदस्मिन् विशेषोस्ति सुब्रह्मण्यं तु पूर्वतः
द्वंद्रवाहनयुक्तं वा रुद्ररूपंतु वा न्यसेत्

It will be seen from the extracts given above that Subrahmaṇya is required to be placed in the eastern niche of the *grīvā* of the *vimāna*. The iconographic form of Subrahmaṇya as seated on the back of an elephant (Gajavāhana) is defined in the *Kumāratantrāgama*.[60] But there is no reference in any of the *āgamas* to the placing of Indra in the eastern niche of the *grīvā* of the *vimāna* in the Śiva temple. Indra is one of the eight *dikpālakas*. The incongruity of identifying the images in the eastern niche discussed here with Indra proposed by scholars is plain enough not to be over emphasized here.[61] This confusion of mistaking Subrahmaṇya for Indra appears to have crept in from the date of a recent work on Architecture,[62] which says as follows :

ग्रथोपरितले प्राच्यामिद्रं षण्मुखमेव वा

दक्षिणे दक्षिणामूर्ति वीरभद्रमथापिवा
पश्चिमे नारसिंहं वाप्युत्तरे चार्थंदं विधम्

The verses quoted above indicate that Subrahmaṇya, Dakshiṇāmūrti, Narasimha and Brahmā should be placed on the *grīvā* respectively in the east, south, west and north. It will be seen that these placements exactly tally with those obtained in the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam. In the *gōpura* of the same temple also we find the same deities except in the case of Narasimha substituted by seated Vishṇu, in the same order.

Chaṇḍēśvara :

Four sculptures of Chaṇḍēśvara one each from the temples of Laḍḍigam, Guḍimallam, Kāṇipākkam and Kāḷahasti, whose dates have been discussed above, are taken up here for comparative study. Among these the one at Kāṇipākkam (Plate No. 34) does not seem to be coeval with the date of the temple. The stone structure of the Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple at Kāṇipākkam has been placed chronologically long after the date of Rājēndra I[63] on the basis of the comparison with the temple at Yātavākili. This appears to be the earliest among the four sculptures discussed here. This sculpture has a simple *jaṭābhāra* drawn upto the shoulders, a robust physical form and thick bands of ornaments such as the necklace, *kēyūra*, *kaṅkaṇa*, etc. It is, therefore, possible that this sculpture was housed in the temple before its conversion into a stone structure. It bears favourable comparison with the Vaiduṁba sculptures at Yātavākili.

The other three sculptures show definite traces of later times such as the developed but conventional type of *jaṭābhāra* let loose over the shoulders except in the case of the Kāḷahasti one (Plate No. 35) which is in the form of a *makuṭa* significant of the position bestowed on him by Lord Śiva and the ornamentation of the body from the neck to the feet. Even among these the one at Guḍimallam (Plate No. 36) can be dated. An inscription, dated in the 8th year (1125-26 A.D.) of Vikramachōḷa, engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the temple at Guḍimallam,[64] refers to the setting up of the image of Chaṇḍēśvaradēvar. If this image is the one referred to in the inscription, at it appears to, it will have to be dated before 1125-26 A.D.[65] The saintly bearing is very conspicuous. The squatting figure is placed on a *padma-pīṭha*. The image seems to be in a waking state as indicated by the eye-balls, wide open and not in the state of meditation. The figure at Laḍḍigam (Plate No. 37) looks younger and smiling.

Jyēshṭhā :

A sculpture of Jyēshṭhā (Plate No. 38) is preserved in the Parāśarēśvara temple at Yōgi-Mallavaram which has been renovated recently. It has to be dated independently as it is not connected with any part of the main temple. The most striking feature of this sculpture is that it contains only two figures, the main female deity and her bull-faced son (Nandidēva) without the representation of her daughter. This is a rare piece. No other instance is known of Jyēshṭhā being represented without her daughter. The hanging lips, stunted nose, pendant breasts and a big belly—these features of the mother are clear. The son is standing while her mother is seated. The mother's right hand is broken, the left resting on the thigh. So also is the case with the son's hands. The sculpture may be placed sometime before the 10th century on account of its style.

BRONZES

The number of bronzes that are worth noticing are eight and all of them have been published and described with illustrations. Two of them bear inscriptions. A brief description of all these images is given below :

Out of the five bronzes noticed for the first time in the Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti, Kalahasti taluk by H. Krishna Sastri and V. Venkatasubba Aiyyar,[66] the bronze of Chōḷamādēviyār is the earliest. This image is about 2-1/2 feet in height. The inscription engraved on the pedestal of the image (Plate No. 39) mentions that this image of Na[m*]birāṭṭiyār Chōḷamādēviyār[67] was cast under the orders of Rājēndraśōḷadēvar by Nichchapaṭṭālagaṉ of Kaṭṭinallūr in Kāñjiṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājarāja-maṇḍalam. T.G. Aravamuthan has pointed out "that it is a likeness of Solamadevi and was cast under the orders of Rajendrasoladeva. Evidently this Solamadevi is one of the queens of the great Rajaraja I, and her statue was set up under the orders of her step-son Rajendra I."[68] Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri who agrees with T.G. Aravamuthan states that "the age and identity of the statue are alike most satisfactorily attested by an inscription on its pedestal saying that it was cast under the orders of Rājēndra-chōḷadēva by Niccapaṭṭālagan, obviously the sculptor'.'[69] P.R. Srinivasan says that "some of the clinching characteristics that distinguish the style for which the school of Rājēndra I was noted are found in this bronze."[70]

An inscription from Tiruvallam in North Arcot district refers to the gift of 96 sheep by Śōḷamahādēviyār, the daughter of Tiṭṭaipirāṉ and the queen of Rājarājadēva for burning a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Brahmīśvara situated in the temple of Tīkkāḷi-Āḻvār at Tīkkāḷi-vallam in Mīyāṟu-nāḍu in Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam.[71] This inscription supports the identification made by T.G. Aravamuthan[72] of Śōḷamādēvi as the queen of Rājarāja I.

The figure is two-armed and stands in the *tribhaṅga* pose on *padmāsana* carrying an inscription in Tamil language and script. She wears in her right hand a lily and the left arm in *lōla-hasta* pose. She has a *dhammilla* head-dress, *kuṭila-kuṇḍalas*, neck ornaments, shoulder ornaments (*bāhuvaḷayas*), tasselled *kēyūras* of lotus-design type in the middle of the upper-arm and in the elbow, *kaṅkaṇas*, broad girdle with a clasp in the middle, dress showing tassels, between the festoons also of cloth and the end of cloth is ornate and hanging on the right side and the other end shown in between the legs, anklets (*nūpuras*) and *mañjīras*. The folds of the dress are well delineated with limited space between the folds or in other words of wavy design. The frills of this dress are tucked up on the right side. The projection of the face, solemn expression of it, the treatment of torso limiting the dimension of the chest ultimately resulting in the modelling of full, round breasts, the treatment of the waist, the sharp curve shown on the left side and the rendering of the stomach in a concave form are some of the features of the master craftsman that distinguish the style of 11th century bronzes to which period the image under discussion belongs.

The next set in this temple is a pair of bronzes representing a male and a female figure. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga I dated in his 49th regnal year (1108-09 A.D.) records a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp by Kaliyavvai for maintaining a lamp (*kuttuviḷakku*) for his merit cast in metal (*tarā*) in the form of her deceased brother [Kētta]ṉ Ādittaṉ *alias* Maṅgaḷūr-Nāḍāḷvār (Plate No. 40), an agent (*kanmi*) of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷak-Karuppāṟuḍaiyār, a general (*sēnāpati*) of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I.[73] It has been stated that the image shown in plate I of the report[74] represents the figure of Kēttaṉ Ādittaṉ *alias* Maṅgaḷūr-Nāḍāḷvār. This figure is different from the image carrying an inscription in Tamil characters mentioned in 168(a) of Appendix C of the Annual Report on Epigraphy, the identification of which will be discussed in the sequel. These two bronzes represents Kēttaṉ Ādittaṉ and his sister. T.G. Aravamuthan states "that it was set up either by herself for her own merit or after her death by her relations as a memorial."[75] There is a lamp between these two standing images. Both the male and the female figures are the bronzes standing on *padmāsana* with their hands held in *añjali* pose. Kēttaṉ Ādittaṉ is represented with his right leg placed a little back to his left leg in the stance of the forward movement of his legs. He wears a different variety of *dhammilla* head-dress which is tied slightly to the left in a prominent manner. The protruding feature of the face of this image is not so sharp as the figure of Śōḷamādēvi discussed above. The eyes are almost of almond shape design showing thick and raised ridges. The nose is narrow and sharp. He wears *makara-kuṇḍalas* in the ears, neck ornaments, *kēyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, rings in the fingers and anklets. The drapery is not elaborate but the height of which reaches beyond the right knee cap while the left knee cap is left uncovered by the folds of the dress. The frills of the drapery are tucked upon the left side of the waist region. The rhythmic movement of the dress is revealed from their flow emphasised on the left leg of the image. The knee cap is well seen in the leg.

The other image probably represents his sister Kaliyavvai (Plate No. 40). She wears *dhammilla* head-dress and *chakra-kuṇḍalas*. The nose is a little projecting. The eye ridges are not in high relief and thick. The facial features resemble the male figure. The head-dress is shown in low relief. She wears a *māṅgalya-sūtra*, *kēyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, rings in both the arms, and *mañjīras*. Her dress is very simple and the fan-like projecting frill, arrangement of the drapery and the cloth ending with *kuñjas* are interesting features to note.

The fourth bronze in this temple is of a male figure of about a foot in height (Plate No. 41). An inscription on the pedestal of this image is engraved in Tamil in characters of 13th century.

The inscription reads as follows :

1. Śrī Kulōttuṅgaśōḷadēvaṟ . .
2. Svasti śrī Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār
3. kōyilukku Uḍaiya Nambi vai-
4. ttadu

It records that Uḍaiya Nambi placed (this image) in the temple of Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiyār on behalf of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷadēva.[76] It will be seen that the inscription does not give the name of the image. The hard 'ṟ' after the word °*dēva* in the first line and the two dots after that indicate that the reading may be restored as *dēvaṟkkāga i.e.*, on behalf of the king. Thus, there is no room to take the first line as a label giving the name of the image. The question of the identity of the image is not left open. It has been identified with Kulōttuṅga III.[77] This identification is based on the first line where the existence of a gap has been ignored. Further much ingenious arguments have gone into this question of supporting this identification such as the youthful appearance and its relationship to his coronation etc. It has become therefore necessary to re-open the question of the identity of this image on the basis of the reading given above.

The figure is two-armed, standing on *padmāśana*. The right-hand is raised and is holding an object from its underside with its rope let loose. The left hand, on a level, a little lower than that of the right hand seems to hold an object with the thumb and the fore finger. The details of his curly hair are well depicted in the front. The facial features are very sharp and realistic. He has a benign (subdued) smile in his facial expression. The treatment of the figure is excellent and shows a high artistic tradition. He wears elaborate neck ornaments of different designs, shoulder ornaments, *kēyūras* in the region of the upper arms and at the elbows, *udarabandha*, *yajñōpavīta* of 3 distinct and fine strings, ornate waist bands and shorts (*ardhōruka*) with the end cloth hanging on the right side, also obviously ornate, anklets of three rings and *mañjīras*. The dress is of more artistic and stylized pattern. The rendering of the details are marked and beautiful.

The identification of this bronze depends very much on the identification of the objects held in the hands. The object in the right hand has been identified by all the scholars as a dagger. The inscription apart, the pose of the right hand, the absence of sharp end and the bends on the handle do not support the identification of the object with the dagger. Besides, the posture of the left hand and the facial expression are far from depicting the man in the posture of attacking anybody with a dagger. A comparison of this image with those of Sundaramūrtināyaṉār[78] called also Āḷuḍaiya-Nambi in the singing posture will point to the identification of the objects in the hands with a pair of cymbals used to play the timing of the rythm. The coincidence of the name, Uḍaiya Nambi, of the person who got the image cast with Āḷuḍaiya-Nambi may be noted.

The next group of bronzes found from Kāḷahasti and Tirumala, Chandragiri taluk belongs to the Vijayanagara period. Among these bronzes the figure of Kaṇṇappa-nāyaṉār in the Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti has been assigned to the early Vijayanagara period.[79]

The sharp facial features, the tall and slender modelling of the body, the angularization of the elbows, and the circular mark of the knee-caps are the characteristic features seen in the image of Kaṇṇappa-nāyaṉār.[80] He wears a *channavīra*, *udarabandha*, girdle, shorts and anklets. The raised arms are suggestive of his action to pluck out his eye for replacing the damaged eye of Śiva. The left arm is shown closely touching the head-dress while the right is raised to the level of the right eye.

The art of the middle Vijayanagara period is represented by the images of king Kṛishṇadēvarāya and his two queens Chinnādēvi and Tirumalāṁbā standing to his right and left respectively. The figures of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and his queens were made on repousse technique, prepared in two parts and were clasped together. The figure of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in the middle is tall and slender. He stands on a lotus pedestal with his hands in *añjali* pose. He wears a conical cap of head-dress with tassels in the front, neck ornaments of simple type, *kēyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, broad gridle, drapery with folds hanging at the sides and anklets. The king's body is shown with a broad, raised chest drooping down into a thin waist. The knee-cap is circular in form and the mid-rib of the legs is of angular type. The two queens are shown in *dvibhaṅga* pose on *padmāsana*. They have labels incised on their shoulders. Their head-dress is of a circular *dhammilla* type. The facial features are sharp. The face is angular and thin at the chin. They wear ear ornaments, neck ornaments, *kēyūras* and *kaṅkaṇas*. The body is seen covered by a transparent cloth. The drapery is ornate and well executed showing elaborate details with the fan-wise projecting frill of the *hem* of the dress. Other interesting features noticed in these images are the angularities of the elbows and the sharpness of the limbs. Their arms are held in *añjali* pose.[81]

The art of the later Vijayanagara period is represented by the figure of king Veṅkaṭa I. In this image which is hollow, one can see the sophistication of details, sturdy appearance of the body, the facial expression indicating a sense of wonder and the angularization of the legs. The muscular features of the arm and the chest are shown prominently. His head dress is long and conical showing details of ornamentation. The arms are held in *añjali* pose. The drapery is simple but the treatment of the knot and folds are of conventional type. He wears two strings of *muktāhāra*, closed fitting neck ornament, ear ornaments and *kaṅkaṇas*. This image bears a label inscription reading "Veṅkaṭapatirāya".[82] According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao the bronzes of the Vijayanagara kings discussed above are life-size images, set up in their life-time. The palaeography of the incised labels seem to support this statement.[83]

PORTRAIT SCULPTURES

Numerous portrait sculptures have been noticed. A few among them studied by me are dealt with here. Among the early specimens the one at Mogilēśvara temple at Mogili, Chittoor taluk is noteworthy. It is a panel carved on a loose slab containing two figures a male and a female, obviously husband and wife standing in *añjali* pose (Plate No. 42). Their hair-do is just a bunching of the hairs in a conical or oval shape. The ornamentation is very simple. The dress of the male consists of a simple dhōti coming down just below the knee and knotted in the middle on the abdomen. That of the female shows symmetrical coiffeuers and does not reach too far down upto the ankle. The general appearance of the sculpture suggest the rustic nature of the two persons. It is a good specimen of folk art representing the common man. The female's feet are not shown in a realistic way but in a profile, while her face is shown to the front. Another class of sculptures from Sōmapalle is found placed in the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, now called *Gollavāri-maṇḍapa*. One of them is on a loose slab and seems to represent a stately person standing on a handsomely carved pedestal, richly dressed bearing a small sword within a sheath attached to the girdle, in *añjali* pose and with a high crown over the flowing hairs (Plate No. 43). The identity of this person is not known. But there is no doubt about his status compared to the other portraits with the exception of only one, which is carved on a pilaster.

The last mentioned figure appears to be a staunch Vaishṇava devotee, decently dressed and decorated (Plate No. 44). But his position on the pilaster places him next to the figure described above.

Among the other four portraits two males are placed on pilasters on either side of a *tiruvāsi* with a *śālā* type of *śikhara* shown in the background but without any image inside. The portraits on the pilasters are shown against the background of concentric contour of pillars. The *tiruvāsi* shows signs of having been disturbed. The other three sculptures are of two elegant ladies who might have been dignified servants of the deity assigned by the stately figure described above. The one waving the fly-whisk looks more beautiful than the other with attractive adornments in almost every part of her body. The left hand drooping down with a sort of *abhinaya* pose, the shoulders having a special type of ornament and the head-dress having a fan-like spread—are all features to be noted. The other two sculptures with different hair-do and ornaments are probably shown as guarding with the one having short sword (Plate No. 43), another having a staff.

These sculptures are coeval with the date of the *maṇḍapa* which can be placed in the late Vijayanagara period.

HERO-STONES

A number of hero-stones have been found in the western and north-western parts of Chittoor district. The hero-stones selected here for study are from Embāḍi, Bōḍināyanipalle and Yātavākili, all in Punganur taluk.[84] Their provenance can be easily explained by the fact that it was the meeting point of the areas ruled by feudatory dynasties such as the Vaiduṁbas,[85] the Bāṇas[86] and the Nol̤aṁbas.[87] It is well known that these feudatory chiefs engaged themselves frequently in wars against one another or in groups formed according to the dictates of the changing political circumstances. It has been explained above that all these border conflicts culminated in the major battle at Sōremaṭi[88] after which some of these powers got weakened. This state of affairs continued right upto the times of the emergence of the Chōḷas who swept across the areas and retained it under their effective control for long. These border clashes gave rise to a number of inscribed hero-stones. The results of a study of a representative collection of these mentioned above are presented below.

These inscribed hero-stones contain a relief with the main figure of the hero portrayed prominently. The hero is often shown standing, facing front, but with his feet placed apart and oriented to his left. His hair-do is shown in the form of a bunch tied by a piece of cloth. His right hand bears a dagger pointing to the right and the left hand is sometimes extended or folded, holding a bow (Plate No. 45). Often he is shown with arrows piercing his body in various parts. He wears some ornaments in the ear and neck. He is shown with shorts tied round by a cloth. On the right side is found a sheath from which perhaps he has drawn the dagger. The end piece of the garment is shown hanging between the thigh. He wears anklets. In another (Plate No. 46) group of herostones the hero is shown with a sword drawn and held aloft in his right hand and with a shield in his left. In other respects these heroes look like those of the first group. These hero-stones depict, besides the hero, the following : (a) a pot with some other object above which could not be correctly identified (Plate No. 46); (2) cattle shown as moving in both the directions; (3) small figures lying on the ground (Plate No. 47); (4) a pedestal-like object (Plate No. 46); (5) small panels showing the hero being honoured and requested and being accosted to the heavens by celestial damsels (Plate No. 47).

Among these the pot probably held some water to quench the thirst of the dead hero. This is done even to-day among the Hindus, who place tender coconuts by the side of a stone planted to commemorate the dead in the course of the funeral rites. This pot has been considered by some scholars as a vessel containing toddy used to be drunk by the hero before he starts for the battle. Since all the objects depicted in the hero-stone are connected with the rites following the death of the hero, the idea of a liquor pot does not seem to be tenable. The cattle portrayed by the side of the hero indicate the capture and the rescue of the cattle from the neighbouring areas by the hero (*torugoḷ*) (Plate No. 48). The heroes depicted on such stones obviously died in the course of cattle-raids. The structure raised in memory of the dead hero is depicted here in the form of a pedestal-like object. The panel at the top containing the hero shown seated in the centre and flanked by the two celestial damsels, standing one on either side, represents the hero who, with an accord of honour, is accosted to the heavens by them. This is a sculptural representation of *Vīrasvarga*. A warrior with a horse shown to the right of the hero gives us an idea of the use of horses in the course of their fight.

No one hero-stone contains all the features described above. But there is no doubt that all were intended to be portrayed in one stone as they are associated with all the heroes. The way in which these are depicted is very conventional and unrealistic. The art forms are not based on any standard conceptions. Their sporadic nature is proved by their appearing on the scene only during a particular period. The following aspects may be considered as supporting this conclusion: the hero's posture of standing with his feet oriented towards a different direction unlike his face, the absence of arrow in his hands, the disproportionate figures of the fallen heroes shown around him and the outward pointing of the dagger in his right hand.

PAINTINGS

The Chennakēśava temple at Sōmapāḷyam (*Sōmapalle*) in Madanapalle taluk has paintings on the ceiling of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*. This *maṇḍapa* in the front with series of paintings rich in presentation and themes may be dated to the late Vijayanagara period.[89] The paintings are very much damaged. But yet some portions which are fairly well preserved are discussed here. Earlier, scholars like Stella Kramrisch[90] and C. Sivaramamurthy who studied these paintings, found by James H. Cousens, have assigned to a period of the late 16th century, more precisely so to *c.* 1576 A.D.[91]

These paintings illustrating scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are interesting both for the vigour with which they are painted and the elegant representation. Sivaramamurti has compared the paintings of Chennakēśava temple with those from the *ardha-maṇḍapa* at Lēpākshi.[92]

Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in his discussion on the paintings[93] describes the technique adopted here as *Fresco i.e.*, the paint colours mixed in lime water is applied on dried up surface of ground plaster.

All the scenes in the ceiling of this *maṇḍapa* have been painted on the above mentioned technique using different colour pigments of varied tonets similar to the later paintings found in the ceiling of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Lēpākshi temple.

The figures in the scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* depicted in the Sōmapalle temple are all shown in profile. Among the scenes taken up for discussion here are :

Scene 1 : The scene where Rāma attacks and kills Tāṭakā is full of action (Plate No. 49). Rāma is shown aiming his arrow at Tāṭakā at the instance of the sage Viśvāmitra who is shown behind him pointing his finger. The head-dress and the mode of drapery of Viśvāmitra reaching upto the lower leg are as usual shown in the case of *ṛishis*. The figure of Tāṭakā has an eye of dreadful proportions and the dark and unkempt hairs are characteristic of a *rākshasī* . Her right hand is shown raised, while the pose of the left arm is not seen since covered by the exposed plaster portion. To the right of this panel, is shown again Rāma wielding his bow, aiming his arrow at the atmosphere apparently against Subhāhu and Mārīcha, the sons of Tāṭakā who were polluting the sacrificial fire-pit. The figure of Rāma in action is shown with great vigour reflecting spirit of the theme. The drapery is much pronounced. He wears neck ornaments and *kēyūras*. The line strokes are deep and curves are full and steady. The colour outline is sufficiently left to show vigorous drawing, sinuous line and animated movement.

Scene 2 : This scene is shown in three phases, the first being the preparation for Sītā's marriage. Sītā with her face turned back is shown observing probably on the mirror her hairs being dressed up by a lady (attending on her). Her colourful drapery is impressive. The two figures to the left of Sītā's father Janaka, could not be identified. Janaka with his distinct beard and raised hands is shown, behind Sītā, facing Rāma. In the next phase Rāma is garlanding Sītā. The scene below this is also in three phases.

Scene 3 : Daśaratha ordering Rāma's banishment on the eve of the *paṭṭābhishēka*, is portrayed in this scene. Rāma's arms are held in *añjali* pose. In the centre, facing Rāma and Sītā, are two other seated figures. The next phase of this scene which is full of action is the one presenting Daśaratha trying to appease his wife, Kaikēyī, whose mind is agitated on account of the evil gossip of Mantharā. Daśaratha is shown lying on the bed with his wife Kaikēyī, seated at his feet. Kaikēyī, wearing an ornamental head-dress, neck ornaments well-designed garment, the ends of which are seen free at her back, *kēyūras* and bangles has turned her face towards the hunch-backed woman, *i.e.*, Mantharā, standing before her. The skill of the painter can be judged by the drawings of scroll-patterns, the ornamental bed-stead on which Daśaratha is shown lying with Kaikēyī seated by his side and the *tōraṇas* above it.

Scene 4 : This scene represents probably the people looking at Hanumān being paraded with his tail burning. Hanumān is shown at the extreme right of the scene. Below the scene of *uparikā* (?) is another scene, depicting the chariot in movement, and some figures shown seated on it. Their identity is not known. Rows of princely figures, persons carrying the banners (*dhvajas*), buglers, drummers and musicians are excellent pieces reflecting the mastery shown by the painter. The fort-wall, the replicas of the *vimāna* and *pañjaras* very well indicate the architectural wealth of the city of Laṅkā.

Scene 5 : This scene represents Vibhīshaṇa *śaraṇāgati*. Vibhīshaṇa, the *rākshasa* king is being introduced to Rāma. Behind Rāma, are the figures of Lakshmaṇa and Sugrīva, the king of monkeys (Plate No. 50). In between Vibhīshaṇa and Rāma is placed probably Hanumān. The painted portions behind Vibhīshaṇa are worn out. Vibhīshaṇa wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*. His left hand is raised while the posture of the left could not be identified. The figure before him comparatively short in form, is represented in three-fourth profile. The line strokes are well delineated in this figure. The anatomy of the figure and other details like dress and ornaments follow the stylistic features of late Vijayanagara period. Rāma holds a bow in his left arm, and the right pointed towards Vibhīshaṇa. Lakshmaṇa also holds similarly a bow in his left arm, while the right could not be seen. The limitation of decoration, the treatment of the face, the fish shaped eyes and the treatment of the dress are the characteristic features of the 16th century and of the paintings of the temple under study.

The scene above the Vibhīshaṇa *śaraṇāgati* could not be identified except a standing figure, on account of the painted layers being peeled off almost at all portions.

Scene 6 : Though the theme of this scene could not easily be made out, but yet one can trace the two figures found seated. By a comparison of the features represented in the female figure in this scene with that of Sītā seated in a palanquin shown below, it is not impossible to say that Sītā is shown in both the scenes. The palanquin scene is interesting from its picturesque depiction presenting Sītā returning back to Rāma (Photograph No. 51). She is shown seated in a fine palanquin. Above the palanquin, one can note the two monkey forms facing each other. Below it are the group of monkeys. All the three other figures standing in the centre are not identifiable. In the extreme right Sītā doing *agnipravēśa* is also as realistic as the one of Daśaratha's banishment of Rāma. Sītā enters into a sacrificial fire at the instance of Rāma. The identification of the figure standing behind Sītā is not known.

The nature of portrayal of the figures in these paintings is very interesting. They are not always represented in one and the same pattern. That is to say, the painter has made clear distinctions among the figures appearing in various scenes, so as to distinguish them. For instance, the figure of Rāma has been painted in light tones while the figure of Vibhīshaṇa is in dark composition.

The mode of dress and treatment of garments and as well as other decorative details employed by the painter followed a set pattern while portraying the different figures. A study of the figures of Janaka, Viśvāmitra, Rāma, Vibhīshaṇa and Lakshmaṇa bear out clearly the distinction made by the painter while portraying them. Janaka is a *Brahmaṛishi* and a king too. He has been depicted with a bearded face to show that he is a *Brahmaṛishi*. More so, that he is a king, is evident from the treatment of the dress, whose folds shown reaching as far as the lower part of his leg, the ornaments, the head-dress etc. But the sage Viśvāmitra is truly shown in the form of *mahaṛishi*. The long head-dress which is being tied above, the absence of ear-ornaments, the beaded-*hāra* worn as his neck-ornament, the *uttarīya* (dress-fold) shown across his body and the ends of which are let down over his lower left arm, the treatment of the face particularly revealing a spirit of independent attitudes, the drapery with pronounced designs, the nature of body curves and the disposition of the legs divulge the fact that the master painter has followed the common traditions underlined in the representation of a *mahaṛishi*. The dress-forms in the figure of Rāma has received different treatments depending upon the occasion. The dress-folds are shown reaching below the knee, upto the knee, and short of knee-cap in three different scenes *viz.*, the scene, of Vibhīshaṇa *śaraṇāgati*, the marriage scene and the scene where he is taking orders from Daśaratha to go to forest and the scene of killing Tāṭakā, aiming his arrows at her.

Sītā is depicted well with ornaments in her marriage scene whereas she assumes a simple form, before she sets out to the forest with Rāma shown in another scene. She is portrayed in a similar form, while seated on a palanquin. This can be noticed in a different scene.

The discrimination of the painter in representing the royal personages, sages and the common people by the variety introduced in their garments shown is apt and suggestive.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 278 and p. 286.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-84.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80; *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 642; *A. R. Ep.*, 1933-34, No. 165.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 529.
5. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 576.
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 1, ff.
7. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906. No 576.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 529.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, part I, Nos. 15-17.
11. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 553.
12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, Nos. 15-17; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, p. 143, 187 and 453.
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 74 and 75.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 511.
15. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 432.
16. *Ibid.*, 1945-46, No. B. 13.
17. *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 553.
18. *Ibid.*, 1907, No. 57.
19. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 327.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 496.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 290-93; *A.R.Ep.*, 1889, No. 61; *T.T.D.I.*, Vol. I, No. 88/17 T.T.
22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 290.
23. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, inscription—*B*, pp. 280-84.
24. *Ibid.*, inscription—*C*, pp. 284-86.
25. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 529.
26. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 115.
27. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 575.
28. *Ibid.*, No 576.
29. Some scholars have identified this image with *Brahmaśāstā*, form of Subrahmaṇya. K.R. Srinivasan : *Some aspects of Religion as Revealed by the Early Monuments and Literature of the South*, p. 64. (Śaṅkara-Pārvati Endowment Lectures, 1960).
30. *Ibid.* The *Paripāḍal* describes him as the rider on the elephant called *piṇimukam* (*-piṇimukam ūrndu*) (No. 5 : 2). The *Padiṟṟuppattu* (11 : 6; 2nd decad, lines 5-8) refers to his destruction of *Sūran* with his *vĕl* (spear) or *śakti*, mounted on his elephant "*kaḍum-ciṇa-vīralvĕl kaḷiru ūrdāṅgu*". The image of Subrahmaṇya represented as a deity seated on elephant with a spear (śakti) in one of his upper arms is in conformity with the above text. The elephant mount is also suggested in other Tamil literary works like *Puṟanāṉūru* (56; 7-8) and *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai* (109-10; line 122). As against these early literary references in sufficiently large numbers, we have selective representation in the form of sculptures in the early temples dedicated to Śiva and Subrahmaṇya himself. The earliest of the seated form is in the upper tier of the eastern face of the Arjunaratha in Māmallapuram. The sculpture here is of a two-armed deity seated on the back of an elephant. A similar representation is also on the east of the upper tier of Mūvarkōvil *vimāna* in Koḍumbāḷūr. In a temple dedicated to Subrahmaṇya in Kaṇṇaṇūr in the former Pudukkōṭṭai area assignable to the middle of tenth century A.D., the image of Subrahmaṇya has an *akshamālā* along with the weapon *śakti*.
31. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 553.
32. *Ibid.*, No. 553.
33. These *ṛishis* surrounding the *Vyākh-*

yāna Dakshiṇāmūrti following *Kāraṇāgama* may either be Agastya and Pulastya, or Viśvāmitra and Aṅgiras. For further details of their names in other *āgamic* texts, mode of representation and date, see—M.A. Dhaky's article on 'Cōḷa Sculptures', in *Chhavi Golden Jubilee Volume*, pp. 285-86 and foot note 76 (1972).

34. This sculpture according to some scholars, is probably a *Brahmaśāstā*, a form of Subrahmaṇya. *K.R. Srinivasan* : *Some aspects of Religion as Revealed by the Early Monuments and Literature of the South*, p. 64. (Śaṅkara Pārvatī Endowment Lectures, 1960).

35. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam : *Early Chōḷa Art*, p. 88.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

37. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 511.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 519.

39. *Ibid.*, No. 513.

40. *Ibid.*, No. 507.

41. *Ibid.*, No. 513.

42. *Ibid.*, No. 521.

43. *Ibid.*, No. 512.

44. *Ibid.*, No. 510.

45. T.A. Gopinatha Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 67 (Second edition, New York, reprinted, 1968).

46. For further details see, Dr. T.V. Mahalingam : *Studies in South Indian Temple Complex*, pp. 40-42, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar (1970).

47. *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, No. 335.

48. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 529.

49. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 576.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, No. 553.

52. T.A. Gopinath Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 69 (Second edition, reprinted in 1968).

53. K. R. Srinivasan : *Some aspects of Religion and Revealed by the Early Monuments and Literature of the South*, p. 64, (Śaṅkara-Pārvati Endowment Lectures, 1960).

54. See T.V. Mahalingam's article on "Some problems in the study of Art and Architecture", *Śrīkaṇṭhika - Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri Felieitation Volume*, p. 6 (Mysore, 1973).

55. *Ibid.*, Mahalingam has however avoided using the word 'phallic cult'.

56. T.A. Gopinatha Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 69, foot note and Plate V, Fig. 1.

57. *Ibid.*, Appendix-B, see the text : *Chchatrākāra śirōvartanaṁ-Liṅga-lakshaṇavidhi-paṭala*-62 Chapter, 72 verse; Pūrvakāraṇāgama-9, Verses 128 and 129; Suprabhēda, 33 Verses 122-27.

58. M. Rama Rao: *Select Āndhra Temples*, p. 62.

59. *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, 90-91; *Suprabhēdāgama*, 89-91;
Kāśyapaśilpa, 56-57; *Kāmikāgama*, 55-56; 75-76.

60. D.N. Shukla : *Vāstu Śāstra*, Vol. II, Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting, p. 213 (May, 1958, Vāstu Vāṅmaya-Prakāśana - Śālashuklakuti, Faizabad, Lucknow).

61. M. Rama Rao : *Select Āndhra Temples*, p. 62; S.R. Balasubrahmanyam: *Early Chōḷa Temples*, p. 220, plate 98 (b).

62. Śhrīkumāra : Śilparatnam (16th century).

63. *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 576.

64. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 512.

65. *Ibid.*,

66. *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, p. 3 and plate 1, p. 83, Appendix D, No. 725.

67. *Ibid.*, No. 168 (b).

68. T.G. Aravamuthan : *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, p. 37, [The Indian Society, London, (1931)] and figure 12 facing p. 37.

69. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, p. 726 and plate XV, fig. 32 (Second edition, 1955).

70. P.R. Srinivasan : *Bronzes of South India*, p. 260 and fig. 168.
71. *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, No. B 223; *Ibid.*, part II, para 14, p. 101.
72. T.G. Aravamuthan : *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, p. 37.
73 *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, No. C. 95.
74. *Ibid.*, part II, para 21, p. 103; Appendix-D, p. 83 and plate 1.
75. T.G. Aravamuthan : *Portrait Sculptures in South India*, p. 38 and fig. 13 facing p. 38.
76. *A.R. Ep.*, 1922, No. 168 (a).
77. T. G. Aravamuthan : *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, p. 41 and fig. 16, facing p. 41; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 726 and plate XV, fig. 33 and p. 754, P.R. Srinivasan : *Bronzes of South India*, p. 320 and foot notes 2 and 3 and fig. 242 [Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series - General Section, Vol. VIII, Madras (1963)].
78. *Ibid.*, p. 310 and fiig. 223 and plate cxxxviii.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39 and fig. 277. He has assigned this image to the middle of 15th century.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
81. For further details see *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, p. 46 and fig. 21, facing p. 46; and *Bronzes of South India*, pp. 339-40.
82. T.G. Aravamuthan : *Portrait Sculpture in South India* p. 48 and fig. 23, facing p. 48; *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1912, p. 189.
83. T.A. Gopinatha Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 481 (Second edition, Newyork, reprinted, 1968).
84. *A.R. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 578-83; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 10; *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, Nos. 172, 177-78, 180-82. During the course of the field work a hero-stone inscription was noticed by the author for the first time at Yātavākili in Punganur taluk.
85. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637; *Ibid.*, Vol, IX, part I, No. 13; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 279.
86. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 10; *Ibid.*, Nos. 2-4 and 6-8; *A. R. Ep.*, 1931-32; Nos. 195-97, 229-30; *Ibid.*, 1933-34, No. 164.
87. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 20; *A.R. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 198.
88. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, Nos. 13 and 14; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 628; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 184; *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. 137.
89. *Vide* : Chapter on Architecture.
90. Stell Kramrisch : *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, p. 216, (Indian Society, Calcutta, 1937).
91. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
92. C. Sivaramamurti : *South Indian Paintings*, pp. 120-21, (National Museum, New Delhi, 1968).
93. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Cōḷas*, (Second edition, 1955), p. 737.

Appendix

Text and Summaries of Inscriptions

No. 1

Taluk : Madanapalle
Village Chippili
Location :

Dynasty : Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu
King : Puṇyakumāra
Date : First half of the 7th century A.D.
Language & Alphabet } Kannaḍa
Reference : *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 400.

Remarks : It records the death of a hero called Paraśurāman in a fight against Indirān, while Puṇyakomāra was ruling Chippuḷi.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī Punya(ṇya)komārān
2. Chippuḷi āḷe Indirān
3. er̤idoḍe Parasurāman
4. er̤idu bil̤dan

No. 2

Taluk : Madanapalle
Village : Pullagaṇṭivāripalle (hamlet of Peddatippasamudram)

Dynasty : Vaiduṁba
King Kaligatriṇēṭra śrī Chi(Śiva)māra
Date : *c.* 9th century A.D.

Location : On a slab lying in a field

Language & Alphabet Telugu

Reference : *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 637.

Remarks : : The inscription records the death of Eḷupakālu probably one of the sons of Sēnāpati Vīramahārāju in a battle while he was administering Sogaledēśa during the reign of Kaligatriṇētra Śrī Chi(Śi)vamāra. It also mentions the other sons Chāndra=ita, the eldest and Māladēva.

TEXT

1. Svasti(sty=a)nēka-samara-śaṁ(saṁ)gaṁ(gha)ṭṭaṇ(n)=ōpaladdha-(bdha)-jaya-
2. lakshimī-samāliṁgita-vakshasta(stha)la Kalige(ga)tṛi(tri)-ṇē[tra]
3. śrī Chi(Śi)vamāru[l=ēḷan][1] sēna(nā)pati Vīrā(ra)-mahārājuy(l)=agra-sutunr̤u
4. Chāndraita putra Māladēvu[2] mā(ma)ganr̤u Sogaledēsea(śa)muni
5. El̤u[pa]kālu ēḷuvānr̤u poḍi[chi paḍi]ye

No. 3

Taluk : Punganur

Village : Bōḍināyanipalle

Location : On a slab forming part of the roof of a dolmen near the Chauḍēśvari temple.

Dynasty : Vaiduṁba

King : Bai[du*]ṁba-mahārāja, the lord of Pulvari (—Pulchari)

Date : *c.* 9th century A.D.

Language & Alphabet } Kannaḍa

Reference : *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 183 and plate.

Remarks : It records that while Punyakumāra-arasa was ruling Maṅgala-Twelve under Bai[du*]ṁbha-mahārāja, the lord of Pulvari, a certain Bāṇarasa is said to have led an expedition against Maïnda Nol̤a[ṁba*].

TEXT

1. Svasti [||*] Bai(Vai) [du*]mbha(ṁba)—mahārāj-ādhirāja
2. paramēśvara Pulvarina(nā)tha śrī-
3. ma[t*] Punniyakumār-arasara Maṁ-
4. gala-bal̤i-panner=aḷu(ḍu)mān=āḷu-
5. ttire Bāṇarāsar Maïnda Nol̤a . .
6. . . mē gel̤[du] . .[3]

No. 4

Taluk : Madanapalle
Village : Basinikoṇḍa
Location : On a slab set up in the field to the west of the village

Dynasty : Vaiduṁba
King : Gaṇḍatriṇētra śrī Vaiduṁba-mahārāja
Date : Second half of the 9th century A.D.
Language & Alphabet : Kannaḍa
Reference : *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 14; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 190 and plate facing p. 191.

Remarks : It records the death of a hero named Kal̤epunna[ṇi]māṇi in the battle at Sōremaṭi, when Gaṇḍatriṇētra, the ruling king and Bāṇarasa attacked the outer fort of Sōramaḍi. The record also states that Nol̤aṁbi, Daḍiga, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi rallied with forces and fought against them.

TEXT

1. Svasty=anēka-samarā(ra)-saṁghaṭṭaṇ=ō(n=ō)-
2. palabdha-jayalakshmī-samāliṁgita-vaksha-
3. sta(stha)la Gaṇḍatriṇētra śrī Vaiydu(Vaidu)ṁba-mā(ma)-
4. hārājar pṛithivīrājyaṁgeye(yye)
5. Mahārājaru[ṁ] Bāṇarasaru Sōramaḍi-kōṭṭe(kōṭe)
6. yiṭṭalli Nol̤aṁbi Daḍiga Rāchamalla
7. Mayindaḍi Guṇḍige[ganle]-e[ne]-
8. baru samasta bala[ṁ] ber̤isi bil̤do-
9. ḍe po[r̤agōṭṭa](gōṭa) yiṭṭ=al̤ivalli
10. . . . . ya doḍe Vāllūchchōyara(chchōra)ṇi Su
11. . . . pār̤var [aṇḍūk]Kal̤epunna-
12. [ṇi]māṇi er̤idu bil̤dan [||*]

No. 5

Taluk : Punganur
Village : Karshanapalle
Location : On a slab set up in a field.

Dynasty : Bāṇa
King : Mahāvali Bāṇarasa (identified with Vijayāditya I)
Date : First quarter of the 9th century A.D.
Language & Alphabet : Kannaḍa
Reference : *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 6.

Remarks : The inscription refers to the rule of Mahāvali Bāṇarasa over Gaṅgar̤usāsira, when the Ballaha attacked Kāḍuveṭṭi in order to exact tribute from the latter. It further records that at that time when the servant (name not given) of Bāṇa-Taṭṭaran, who was himself a servant of Vijayitta (*i.e.*, Bāṇa Vijayāditya) was on his way back from his village Kuṁtiāla a certain Gaṇamutti attacked him and Bāṇa-Taṭṭaran was killed in the fray.

TEXT

1. Svasti [||*] Sakala-jagat-[t*]ray-ābhivandita
2. sū(su)r-āsūr(sur)-ādhīśa-Paramēśvara-prati(tī)hā-
3. rīkṛita-Mahāvali-kul-ōtbha(dbha)va śrī Mahā-
4. vali Bāṇarasar pṛithu[vī*]rājya[ṁ*] geye
5. Ballaha Kāḍuvaṭṭiya kappa-goḷal=el̤ta-
6. nd=andu Gaṅgar̤usāsiramumān Bāṇarasar
7. pṛithuvīrājya[ṁ*] geye Vijayittan=āḷu Bā-
8. ṇataṭṭar̤an tanna-āḷu ūgepōgi-mar̤u-
9. bappoṁge Ku[ṁ]tiāladali kudure-ē
10. r̤i barutire Gaṇamutti-echchoḍe-ir̤idu-bāḷ-
11. kil̤tu idire-naḍadu-kal̤chitta-Bāṇataṭṭar̤a-satta

No. 6

Taluk	: Punganur	Dynasty	: Bāṇa
Village	: Vanamaladinne	King	Mahābali Vāṇarasa (identified with Vijayāditya I).
Location	: On a slab set up in a field.	Date	: *c.* 9th century A.D.
		Language & Alphabet	Kannaḍa
		Reference	: *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 197 and plate facing p. 46.

Remarks : The record states that during the reign of Mahābali Vāṇarasa over Vaḍugavaḷi-12000 and Gaṅga-6000, a certain hero named Amaḷar Kittaṇṇan, son of Tārāra-Dharmmadamēṇṭi fought with the Vaidumba chief who attempted to lift the cattle and died. A *khaṇḍuga* of field in which Amaḷar Kittaṇṇan fell was granted in honour of the hero to Goṇḍora Māmalipotti, the adopted son (*koḷamaga*) of the deceased hero.

TEXT

1. Svasti [||*] Sakala-jagatra(t-tra)y-ābhiba(va)ndita-su-
2. ra(r-ā)sur-ādhīśa ppa(-Pa)ramēśvara-pratīhārīkṛita
3. Māhābali-kō(ku)l-ōtbha(dbha)va śrī-Māhābali Va(Vā)ṇara-

4. sar Vaḍugaval̤i-pannichchāsirakkaṁ Gaṅgar̤usāśi(si)ra-
5. kkam adhipatigaḷ=āgi rājya[ṁ] geye Baydumbar(ba)rā
6. page aḍi tor̤u-goḷe sattan Tārāra-Dharmmadamēṇṭi maga[n*]
7. Amal̤ar Kittaṇṇan avanā koḷamaga Goṇḍora
8. Māmalipotti avanā bil̤da keyyu ka(kha)ṇḍuga kal̤a-
9. niyu ida al̤ivō[n*] śā(sā)śi(si)ra kavile go(ko)nda pañcha-
10. mahāpa(pā)tha(ta)kanankku(kan=akku) idam śa(sa)lippōnā pā
11. dagaḷḷi(-ḷ)-ennā taleyā-mēgaṇo

No. 7

Taluk : Punganur
Village : Kurapalle (hamlet of Āraḍiguṇṭa)
Location : On a slab built into the floor of Āñjanēya temple.

Dynasty : Bāṇa
King : Vikramāditya Vāṇarasa
Date : late 9th century A.D.
Language & Alphabet } Kannaḍa
Reference : *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 187 and plate facing p. 49.

Remarks : It records the death of Mudūḍan after killing the enemies and capturing the cows of Pudali-oḍeya in a battle fought at Palpaḍuvu during the enmity of Vikramāditya Vāṇarasa and Kaṇṇakuriya.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [||*] Vikramāditya Va(Vā)ṇarasarā Ka-
2. ṇṇakkuriya pagayuḷ Palpaḍuvinu-
3. ḷ Pudali-oḍeyōra āvan-ikki-
4. śi(si) āntu ir̤idu śa(sa)tta[ṇ] Mudūḍan
5. pa[ṇṇar] naḍu [Kā]vila Naya[mitran]
6. Mēruchelvan kaṇṇavaḍḍa[gi]

No. 8

Taluk : Punganur
Village : Chaḍalla
Location : On a slab set up in a field in front of the village, on Puṅganūr-Chaḍum road

Dynasty : Bāṇa
King : Mahāvali Bāṇarasa (identical with Bāṇavidyādhara)
Date : *c.* 9th century A.D.
Language & Alphabet } Kannaḍa
Reference : *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 11.

Remarks : It records the death of a warrior (name not clear) described as the son of Kāḍappa, who was perhaps a servant of Mādhavarasa of Kuṅganūru, in the battle of Sōramaḍi, when Mahāvali Bāṇarasa attacked the confederacy of Nol̤aṁba, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi. At the time of the battle, Mahāvali Bāṇarasa is stated to be ruling over Vallam, which was to the west of Vaḍugavaḷi and to the east of Maṇṇe. The record further states that in appreciation of the deceased hero's valour in cutting down several horses and men on the battle field, Mukuremba was given compensation (*pariyāra*).

TEXT

1. Svasti [II*] Sakala-jagtra(t-tra)y-ābhivandita sura(r-ā)sur-ādhīśa-Para-
2. mēśvara-pratīhārīkṛita Mahāvalikō(ku)l-ōtbha(dbha)va śrī
3. Mahāvali Bāṇarasa pri(pṛi)thuvīrājyaṅgeye Baḍu
4. gaval̤iyin=paḍuva Maṇṇeyin=mūḍe Vallam=āḷutti-
5. re Pemmānaḍigaḷg-āgi Bāṇarasar Nol̤aṁbanā Rā-
6. chamallanā Mayindaḍiyā mēg-el̤du Sōramaḍiya
7. kāḷegadōḷ Kuṅganūra Mādhavarasa Kāḍappa-
8. nā=mmaga[n-chātta]ditya-vāle-palavuṁ kudureyuṁ
9. mānasarumān=ir̤iḍu bil̤doḍe mechchi Muku[re][4]
10. mbe sa[r]vvapā(bā)da(dhā)pariyāra kala(l̤a)ni prasādage-
11. ydār-idānd-urvva-i . . . n al̤ivōt(n)-pañchama[hā*]pātakan=akku

No. 9

Taluk : Puttur
Village : Muḍipaḷḷi
Location : Stone set up in front of Karimāṇikya Varadarāja-perumāḷ temple.

Dynasty : Vijayanagar
King : Pratāpa Dēvarāya
Date : Śaka 1348, Parābhava, Kanni, śu. 7, Sunday, Mūla (= 1426 A.D., September 8, f.d.n. ·26)
Language & Alphabet : Tamil and Tamil Grantha

Remarks : It records the grant of land of half a *kuḷi* for the merit of Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār, by *pradhāni* Arasar Kopparasar, the agent of *mahāpradhāni* Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār during the reign of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya and by the *mahājanas* with the stipulation that the gift of land should be utilised for desilting the lake at Muḍipaḷḷi-agaram.

TEXT

Front

1. Svasti śrīman
2. mahāmaṇḍalēśvara

3. chatusamudrādhipati śrī
4. Pratāpa Dēvarāyar
5. pṛithivīrājyam paṇṇā-
6. nin̤r̤a Śakābdam 13-
7. 48 mēl chellānin̤-
8. r̤a Parābhava saṁvatśarattu
9. Kanni-nāyar̤r̤u pūrvva-pakshattu
10. saptamiyum nāyar̤r̤ukil̤a-
11. maiyum per̤r̤a Mūlattu nā-
12. ḷ śrīman mahāpradāni Dēva-
13. rāya-uḍaiyār kāriyat-
14. tukku tam=vuḍa[lāga] arasar
15. Kopparasar piradān̤iyum
16. Muḍipaḷḷi-agarattu
17. ēriyin̤ uḷḷa ka .. ānak-
18. kuḍi nān̤āsādiyum . .
19. ttuk-koṇḍu i[d*]dhar[ma]
20. tte vari śilavu tappina-
21. du koṇḍu vāsalu
22. kku araikkul̤i varushaṁ
23. Dēvarāya-uḍaiyār dharmmam

Back

24. varushamdōr̤um ēri
25. kkuḷḷē kul̤ī veṭṭi
26. k-karaiyilē śeyyak-
27. kaḍavadu āgavum inda
28. dharmmaṁ chandrādityavarai
29. naḍakka kaḍavadu ā-
30. gavum idukku ahita-
31. m paṇṇin̤avan
32. . . . . .
34. geṅgaik-karaiyil
34. kapilaip-paśuvaik-ko
35. n̤r̤a pāvattilum mādā-
36. vaik-kon̤r̤a pā[va*]ttilu-
37. m pōgak-kaḍavar āga
38. vum ippaḍikku araśar
39. Kopparaśarum mahāja-
40. n̤amum aruḷich-cheyal
41. paḍikku . . liruḷu che
42. uḍaiyān̤ el̤u
43. ttu

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1. The letters [*rul=ĕḷan*] are engraved below line 3
2. Read Malladēvu
3. The lower half of the stone is lost.
4. N.L. Rao suggested that in the next line *Kal̤ani*, meaning wet land, is stated to be the gift, it does not seem to be correct to read Mukuremba and take it to be the name of a village.

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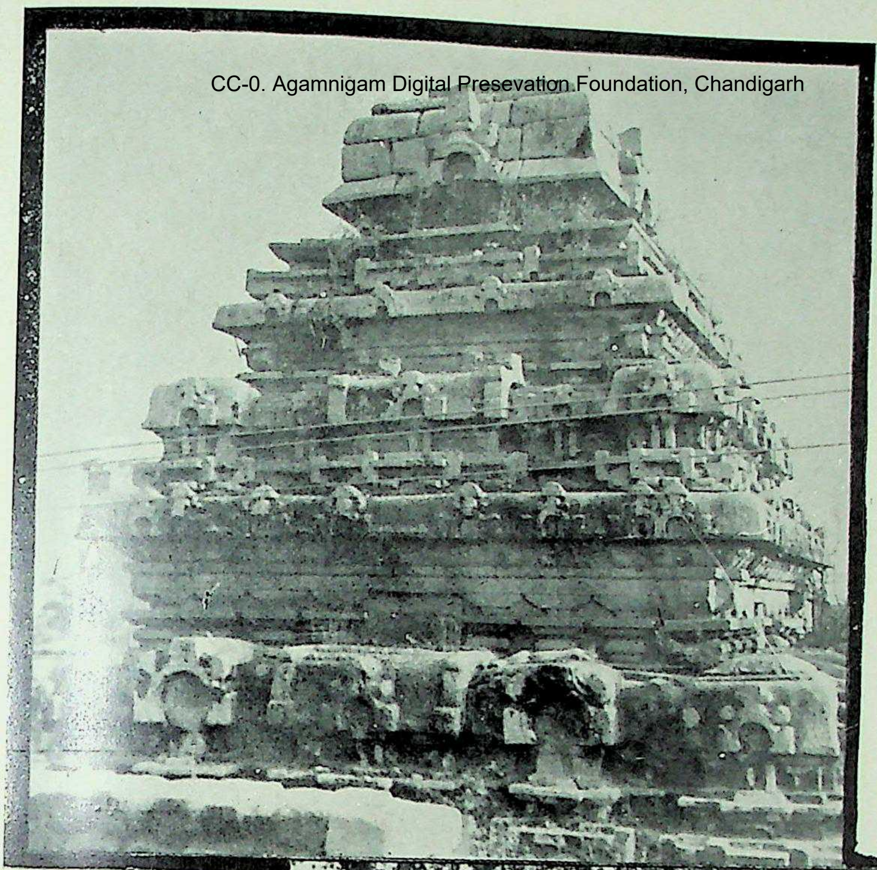


Plate 1
Śkihara,
Pallīśvaram-
uḍaiya-
mahādēva,
Kalakaḍa.

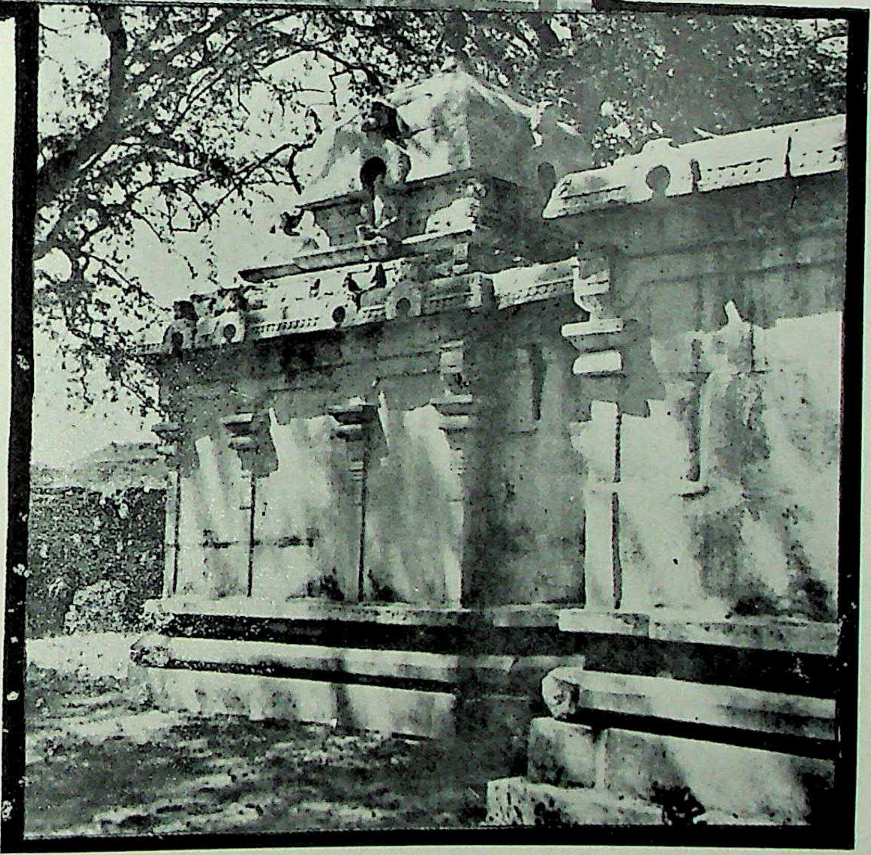


Plate 2.
Vimāna, *ardha-*
maṇḍapa and
mahā-maṇḍapa,
Chandramauḷēśvara
temple, Yātavākili.

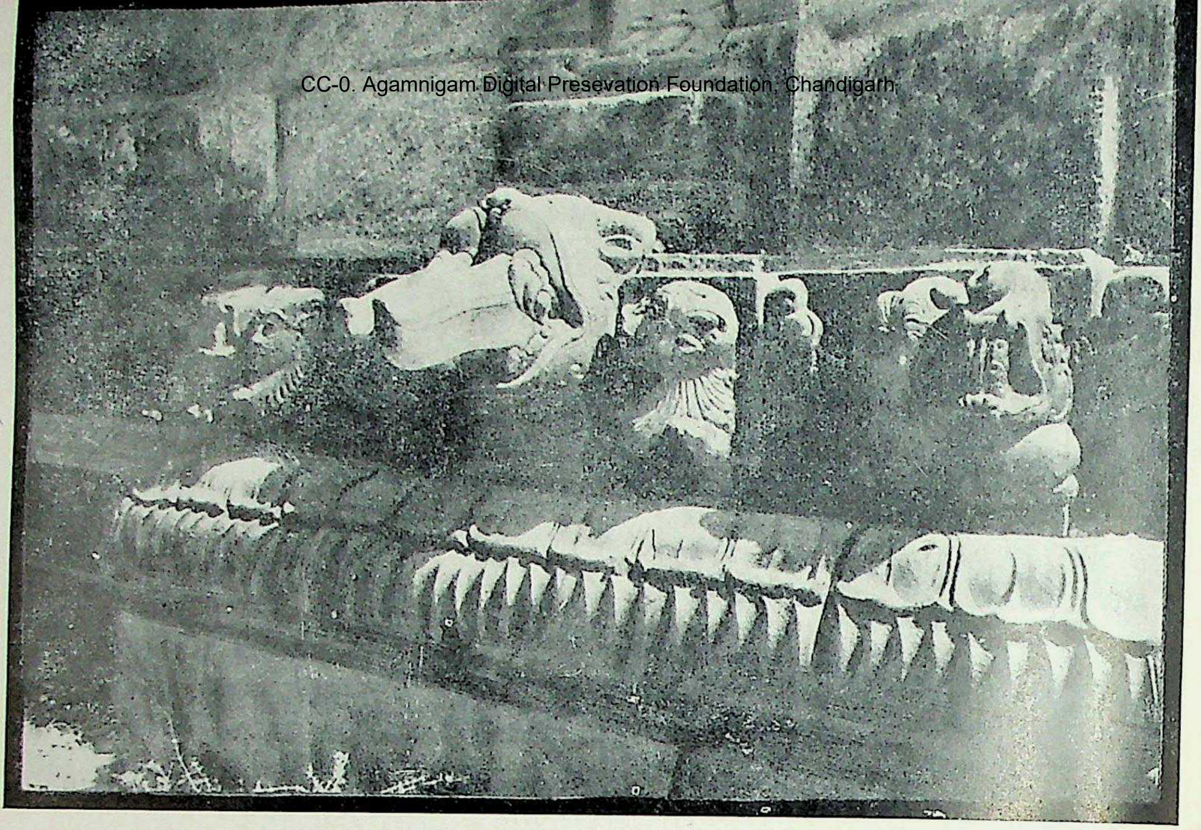


Plate 4. *Kumuda* and *praṇāḷa*, Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara temple, Toṇḍaimānāḍ.

Plate 3. *Vimāna*, Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara temple, Toṇḍaimānāḍ.

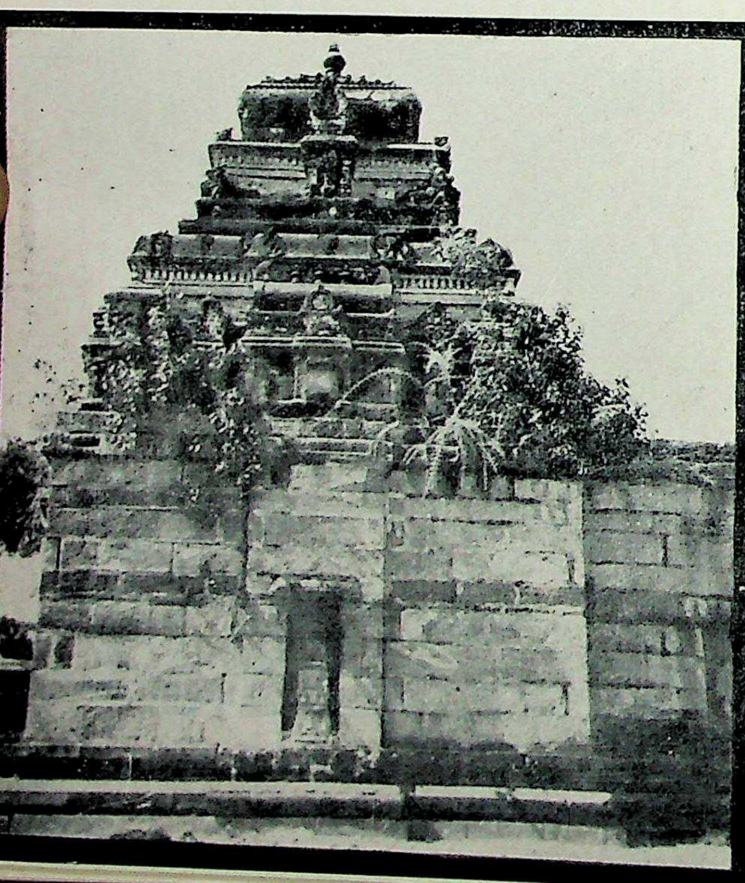
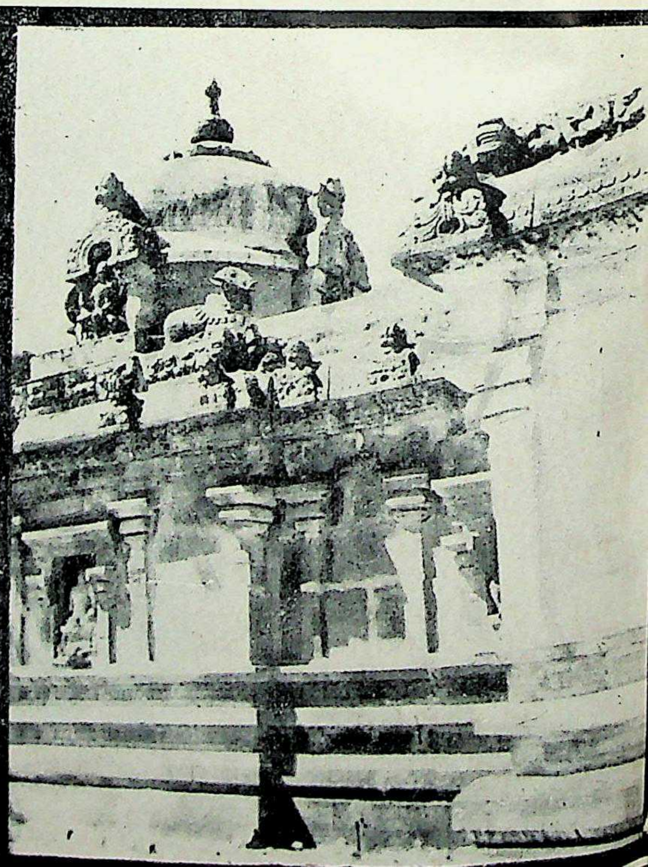
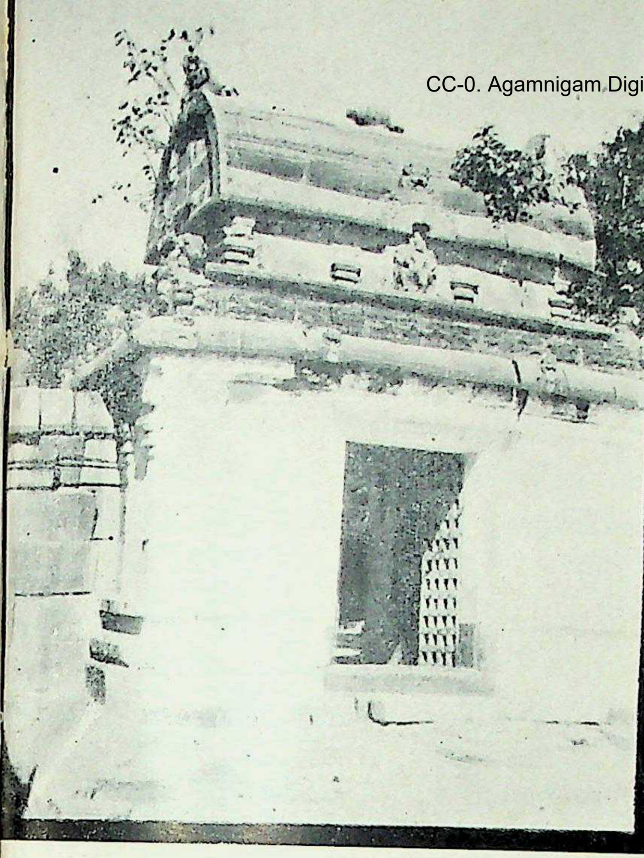


Plate 5. *Vimāna*, *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa*
Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Laḍḍigam.





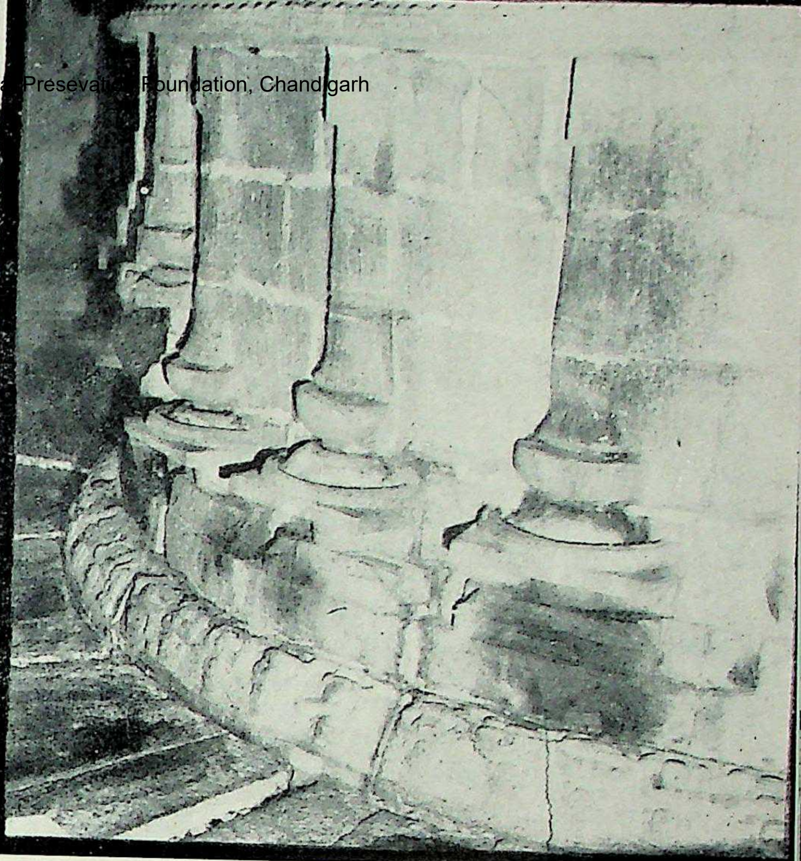


Plate 6. Gateway, inner side, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Laḍḍigam.

Plate 7. *Bhitti* and *prastara* of the *vimāna*, Paraśurāmēśvara temple, Guḍimallam.

Plate 8. *Śikhara* and *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Paraśurāmēśvara temple, Guḍimallam.

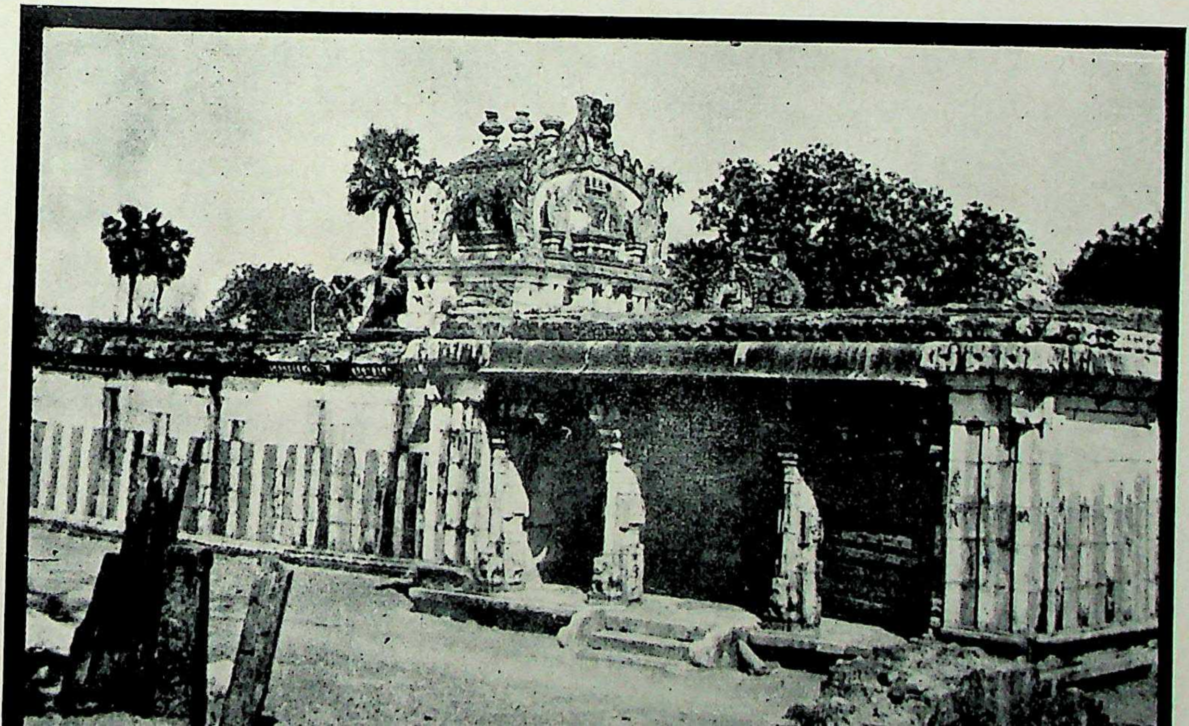


Plate 9. *Vimāna*, Varadarājaperumāḷ temple, Vāvilitōṭa.
←

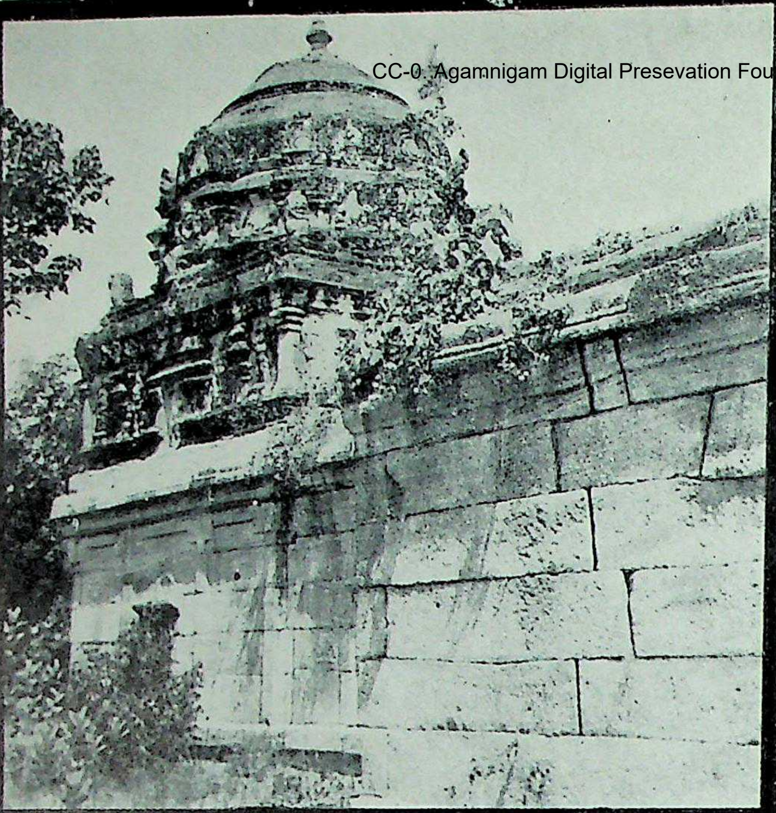
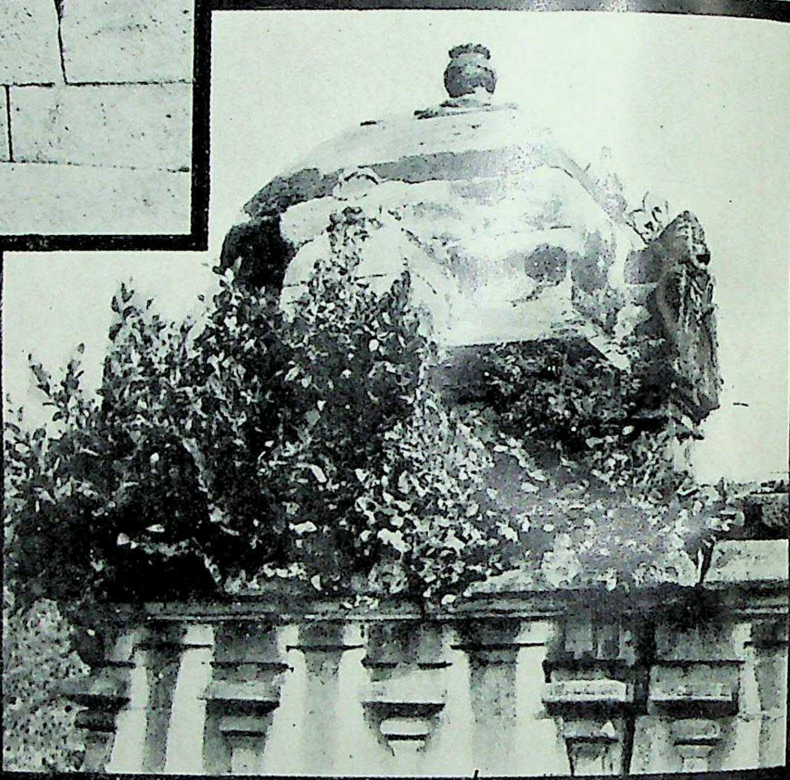


Plate 10. *Vimāna*, Agastyēśvara temple, Vāvilitōṭa.
↓



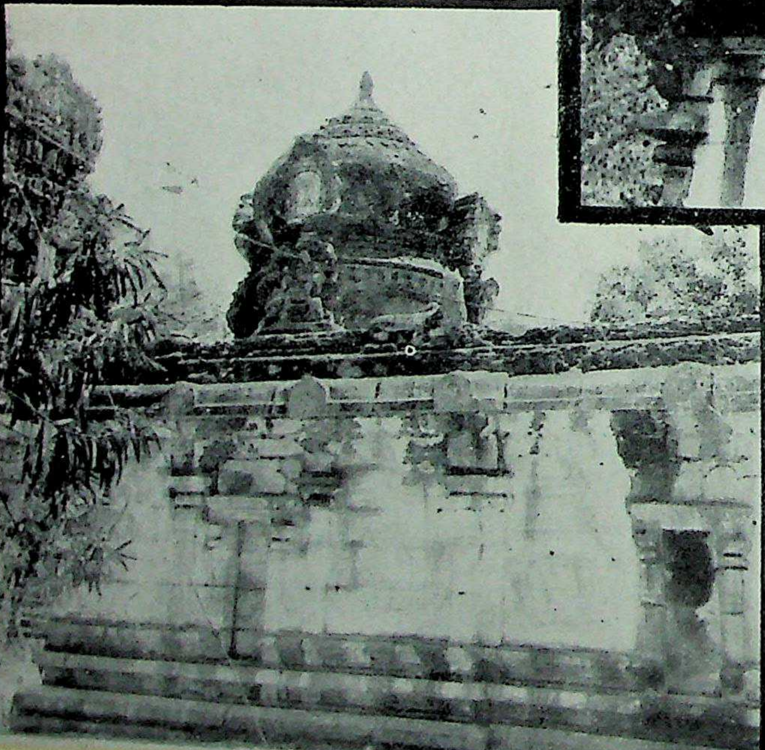


Plate 11. *Vimāna*, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.
←

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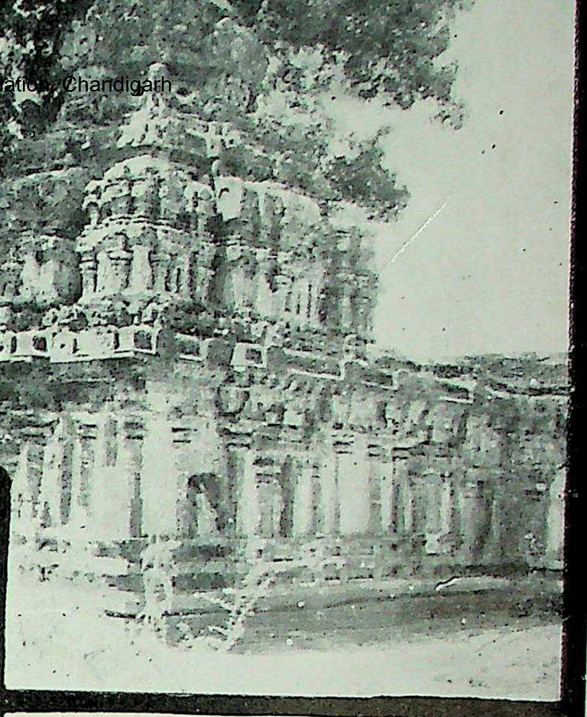

Plate 12. *Vimāna*, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.

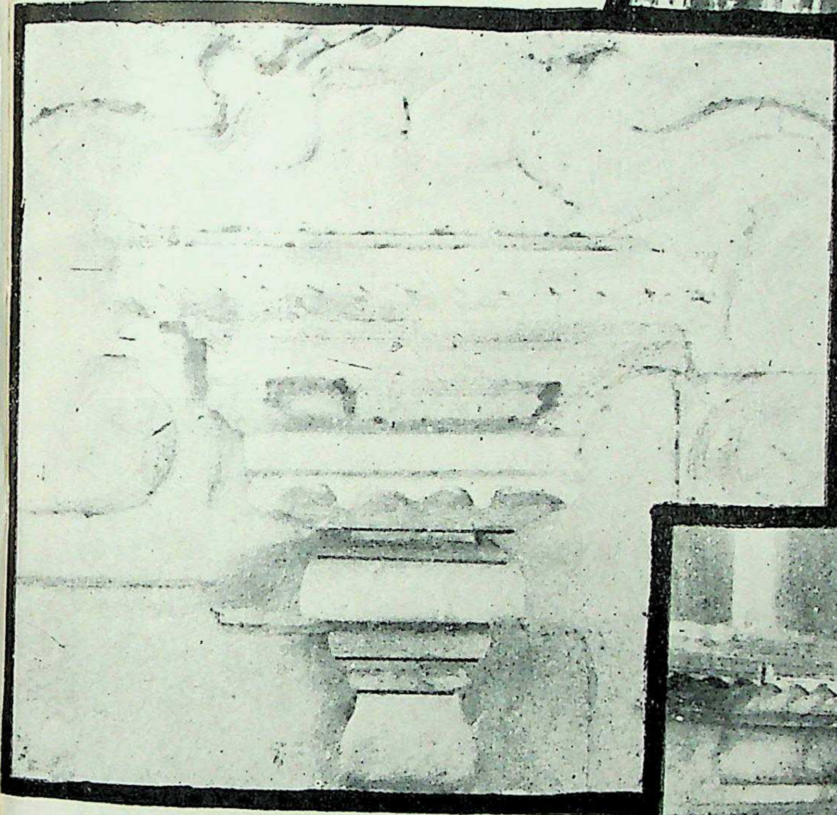

Plate 13. *Stambha-toraṇa*, *vimāna* wall,
← Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.

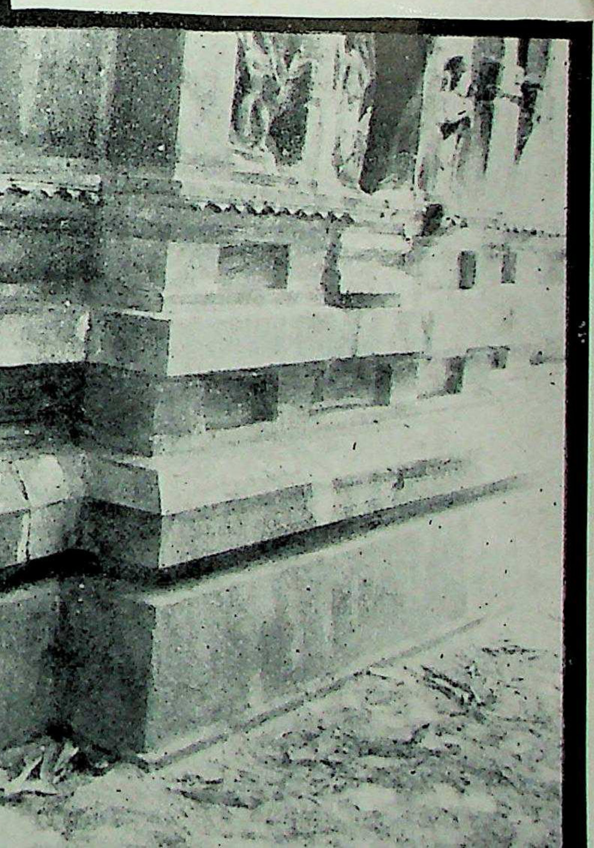

Plate 14. *Adhisṭhāna* of the *vimāna*, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.

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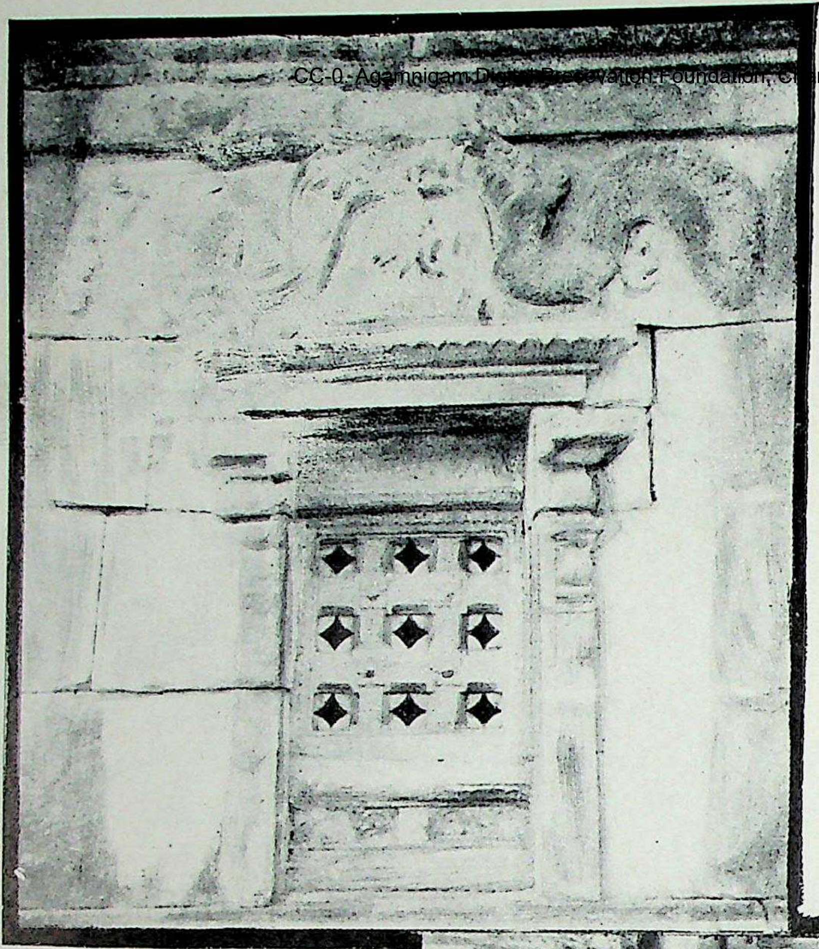


Plate 15.
Dēvakōshṭha showing ornamental trellis window (*gavāksha*) and surmounted by *makara-tōraṇa* above, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.

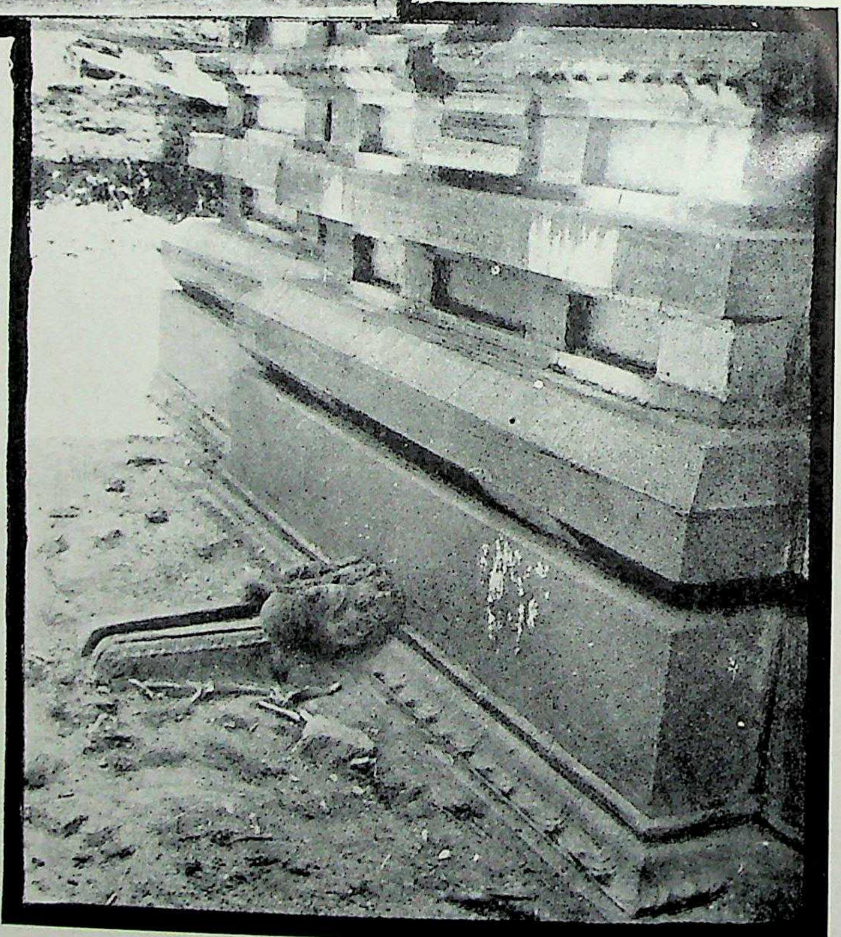
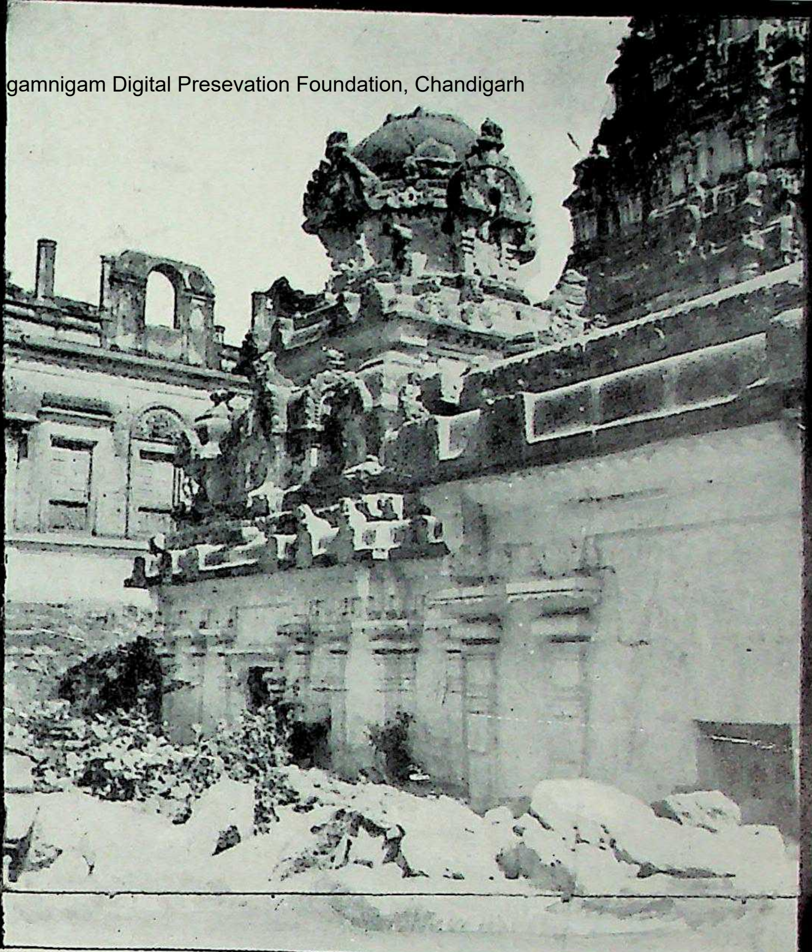


Plate 16.
Adhishṭhāna with *praṇāla* at the upāna level, *vimāna*, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.

Plate 17.
Vimāna, Kāśiviśvēsvara
temple, Kāḷahasti.



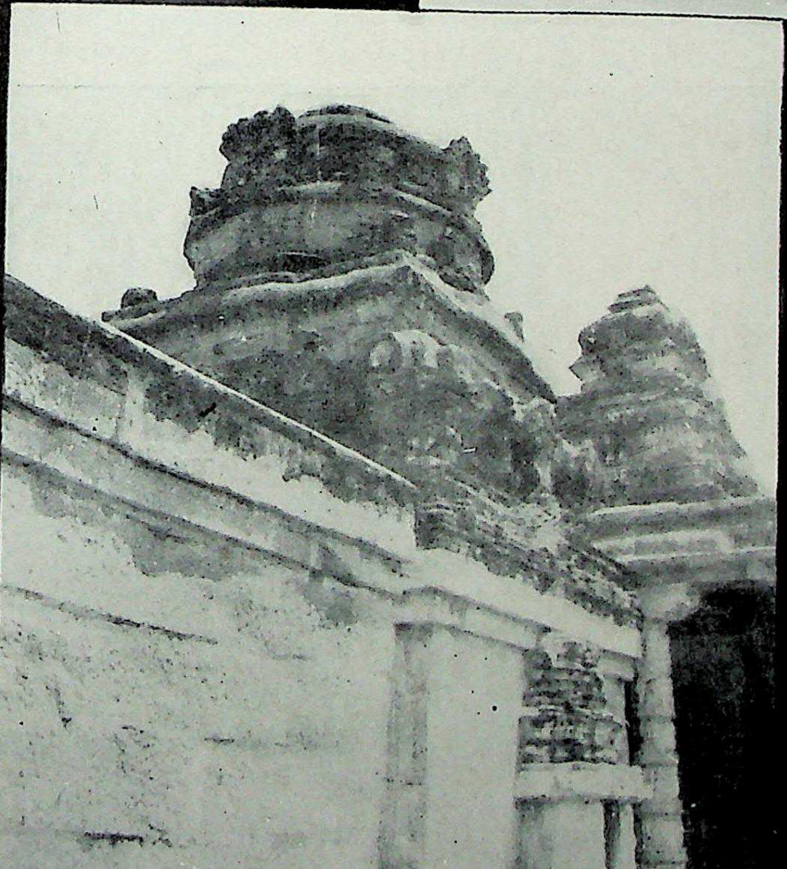


Plate 18.
Vimāna, Chennakēśava
temple, Sōmapalle.

Plate 19.
Śikhara, *vimāna*, Chennakēśva temple, Sōmapalle.

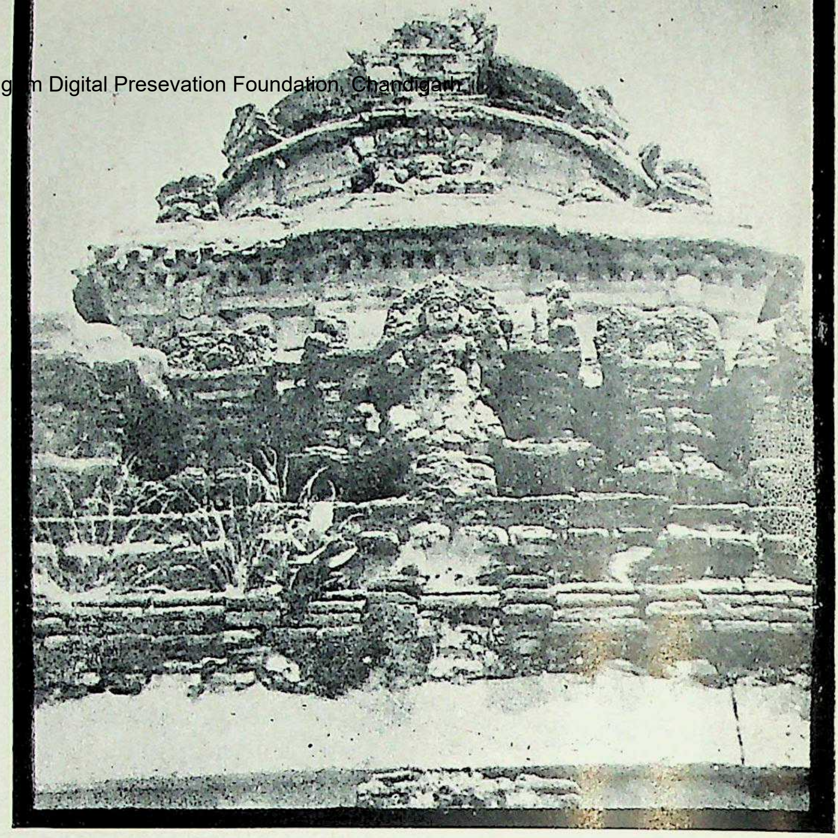


Plate 21. Ornamental door jamb, showing *dvārapālaka* and Gaṁgā.

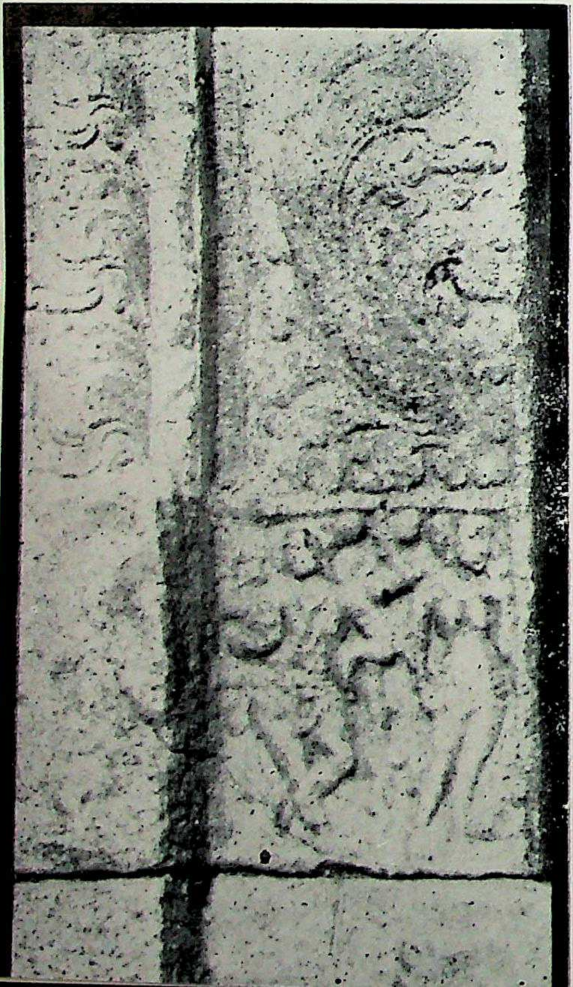


Plate 22. *Lalāṭa-bi*

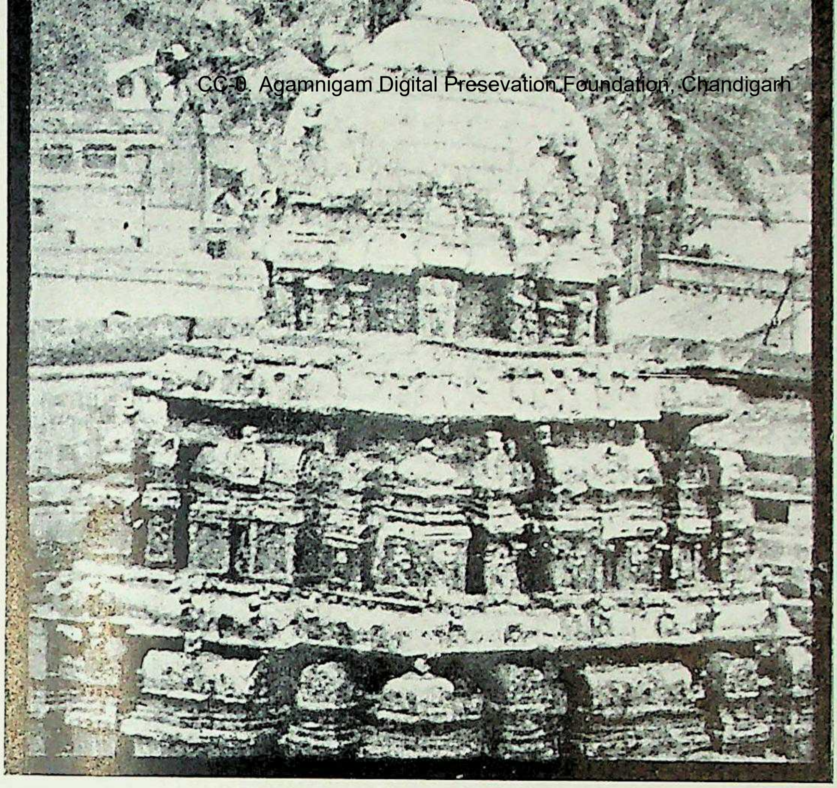


Plate 20. *Śikhara*, *vimāna*,
Veṅkatēśvara temple,
Tirumala.

, showing Gajalakshmī panel.

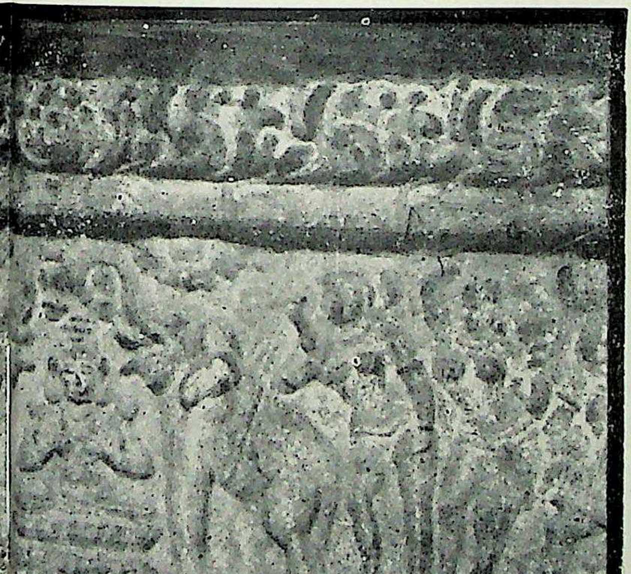
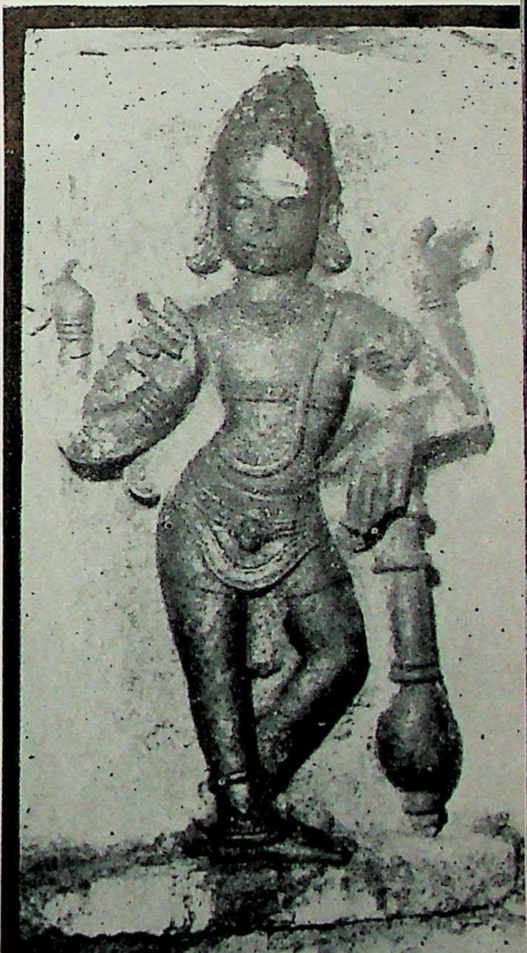


Plate 23. Dvārapālaka, sout
of entrance, Chandra-
mauḷīśvara temple,
Yātavākili.



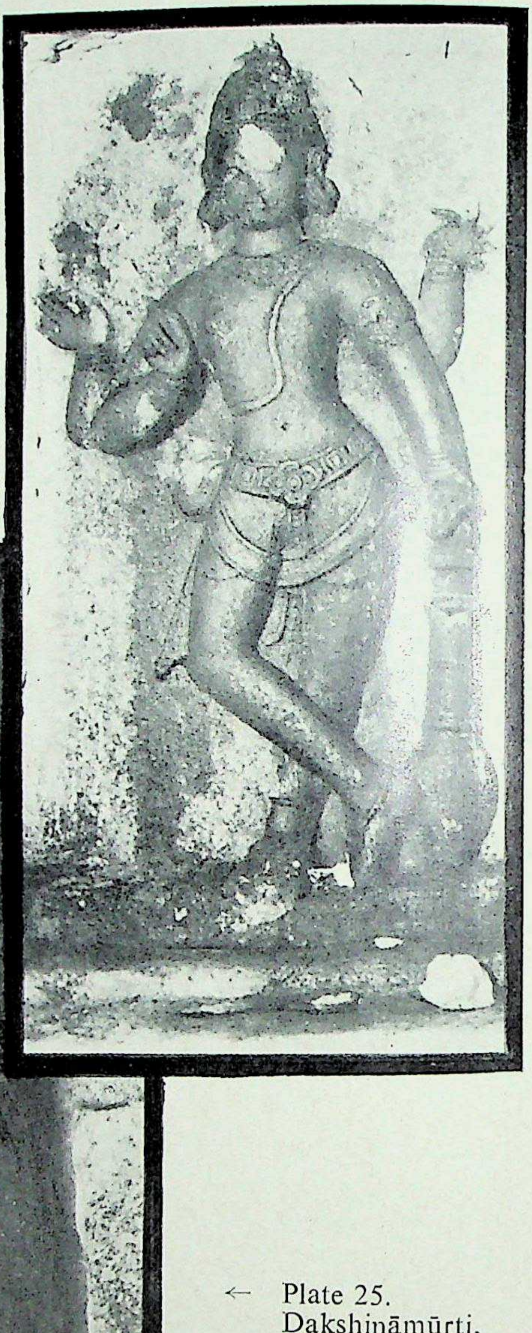
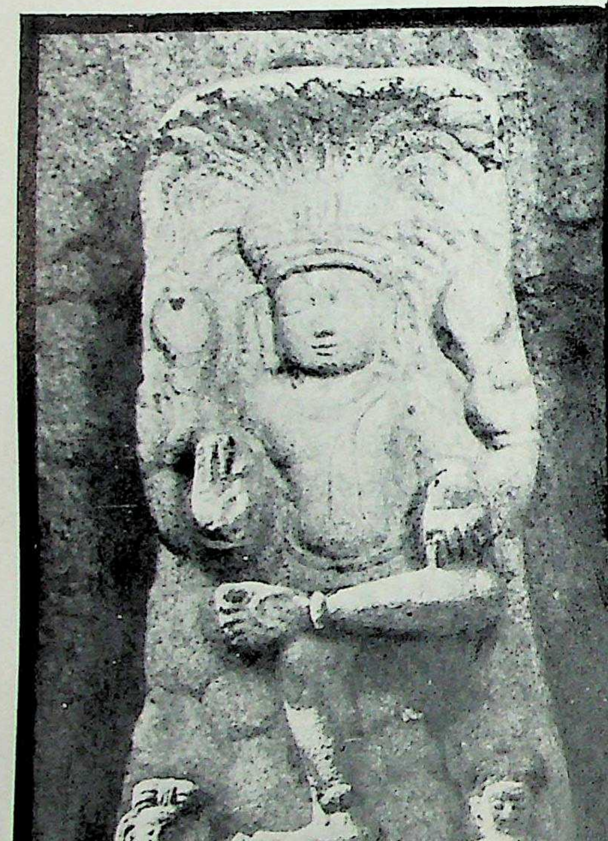


Plate 24.
Dvārapālaka, north of entrance,
Chandramauḷīśvara temple,
Yētavākili. →



← Plate 25.
Dakshiṇāmūrti,
vimāna, south
wall, Kōdaṇḍarā-
mēśvara temple,
Toṇḍaimānāḍ.

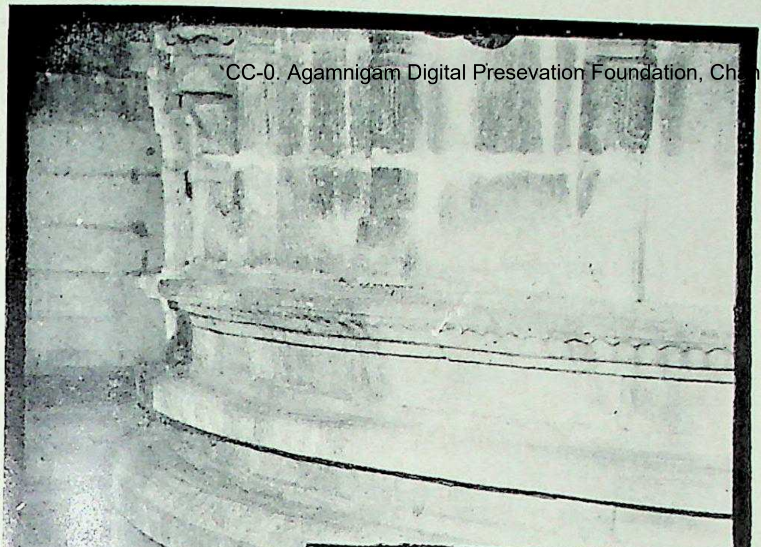


Plate 26. ↑
Gajapṛishṭha-vimāna,
adhisṭhāna and
bhitti, Paraśurā-
mēśvara temple,
Guḍimallam.

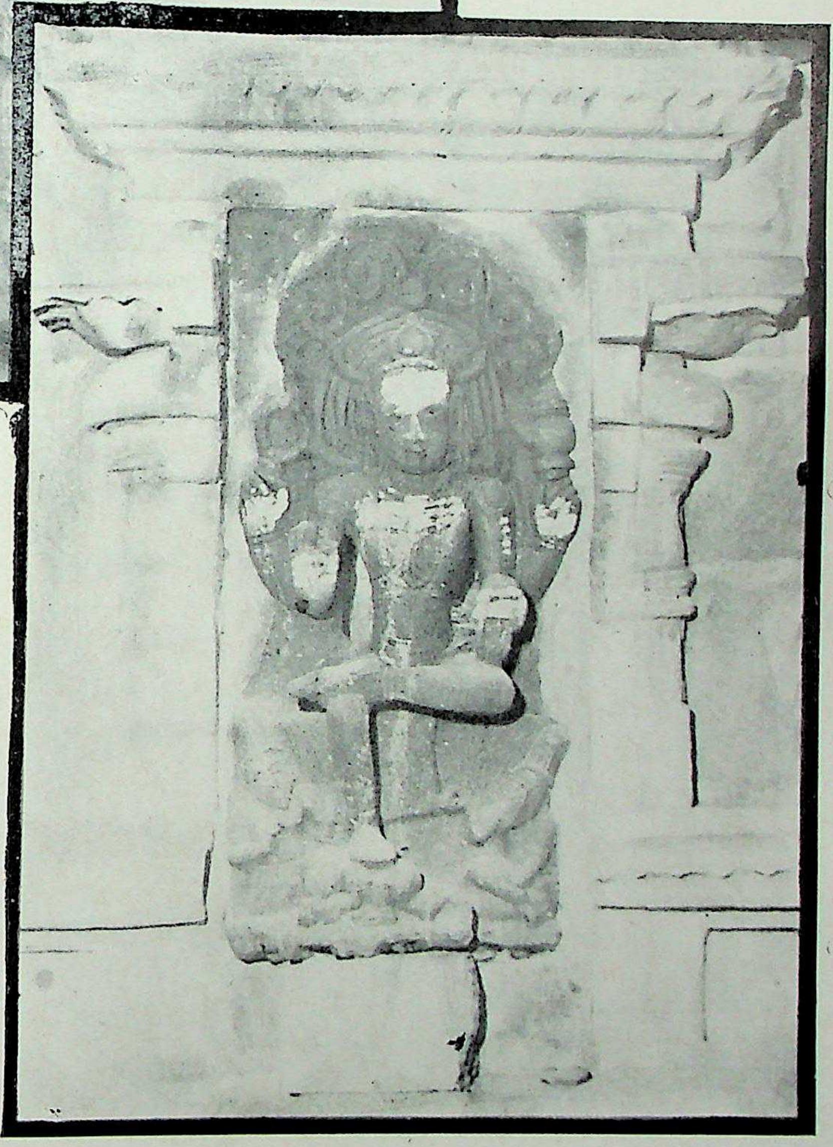


Plate 27.
Dakshiṇāmūrti,
vimāna, south wall,
Paraśurāmēśvara temple
Guḍimallam. ↓

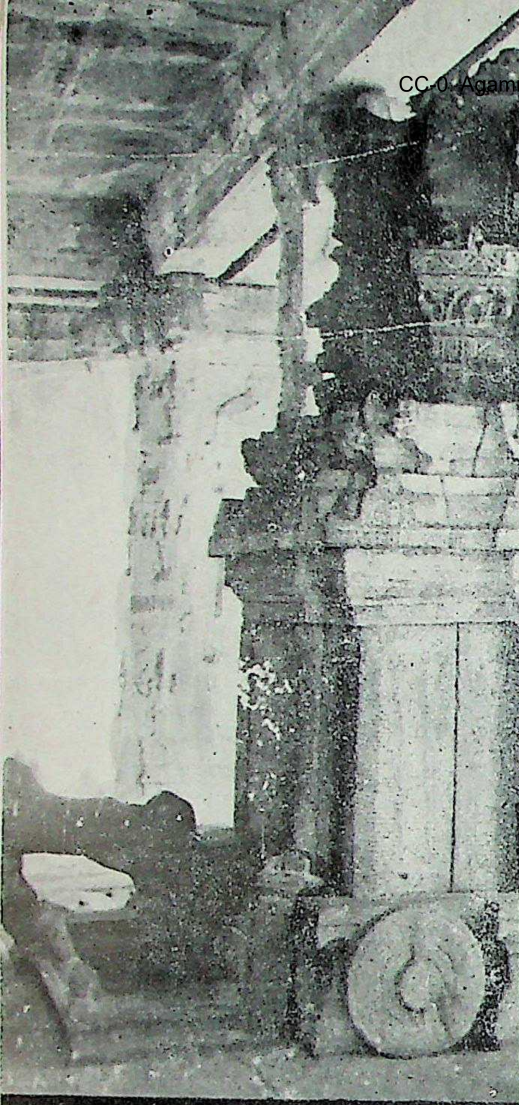


Plate 28. *Ratha*-shrine, Chennakēśava temple, Sōmapalle.

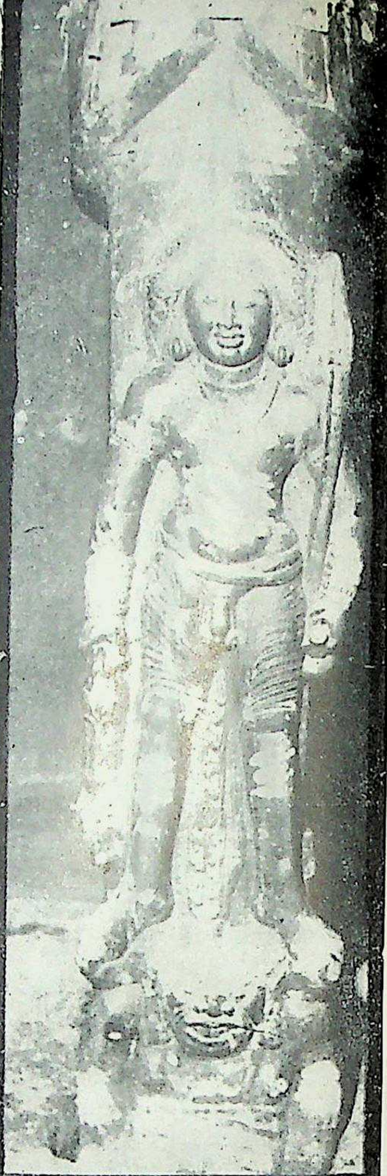


Plate 30. *Linga*, Paraśurāmēśvara temple, Guḍimallam.

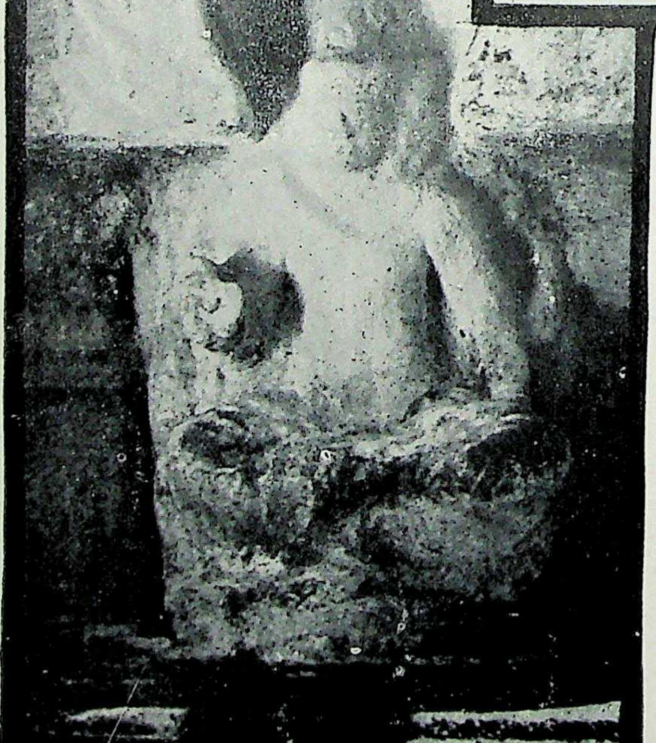


Plate 29. Brahmā, *vimāna*, *grīvā* niche north, Chandramauḷīśvara temple, Yātavākili.

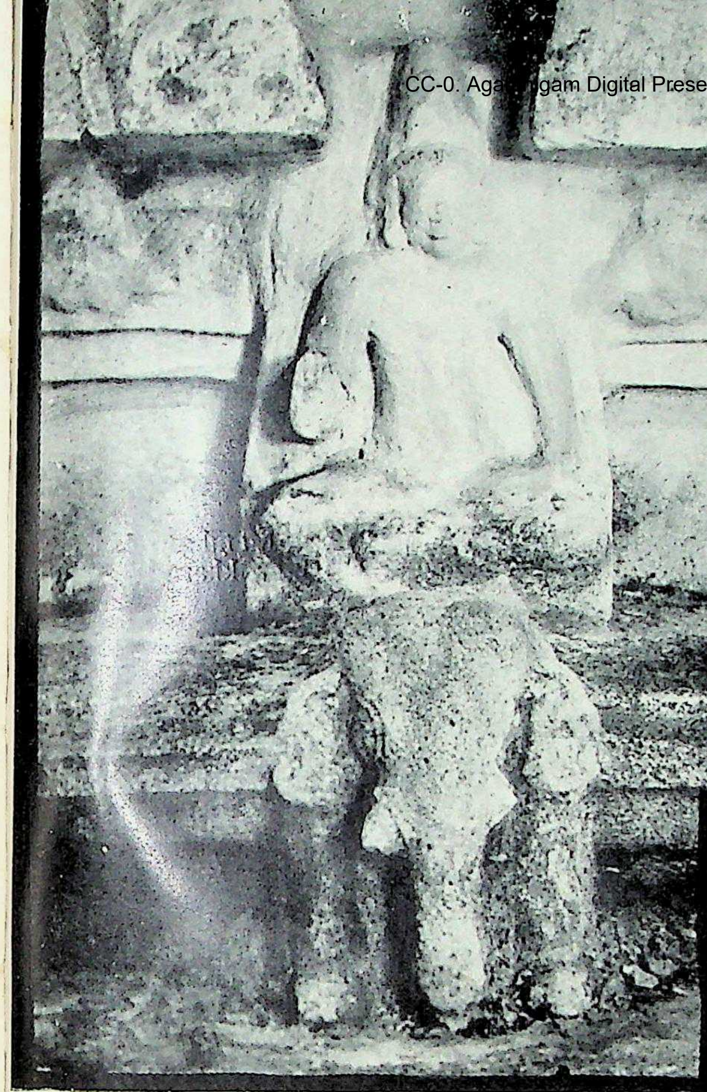


Plate 31. Subrahmaṇya, *vimāna*, *grīvā* niche, east, Chandramauḷēśvara temple, Yātāvākili.

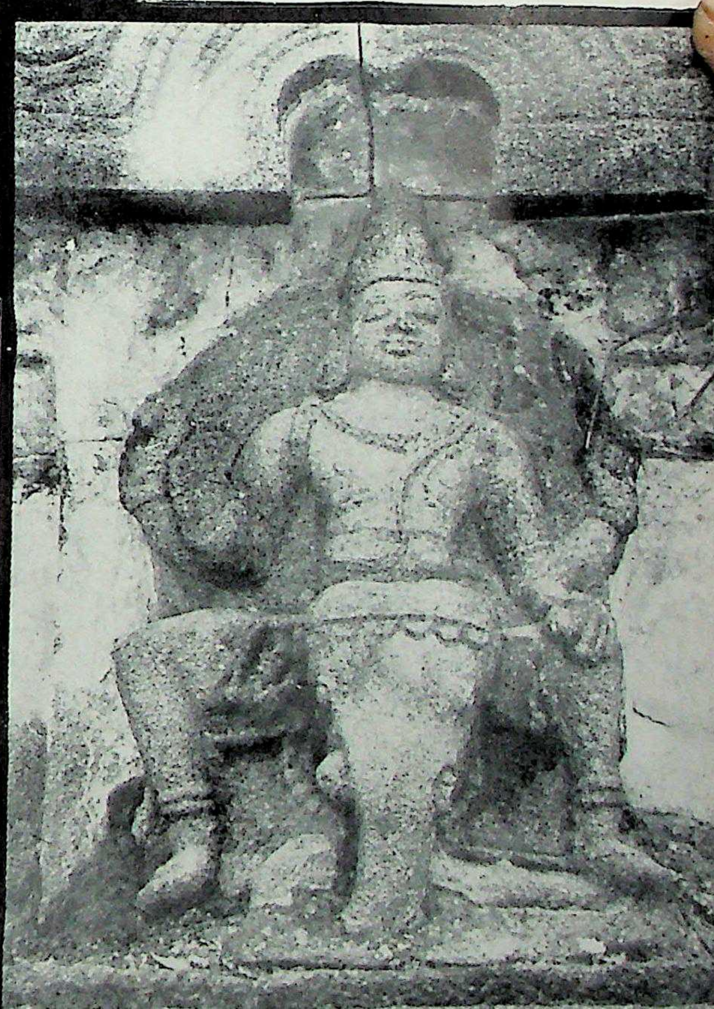


Plate 32. Subrahmaṇya, gate-way, *grīvā* niche, east, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Laḍḍigam

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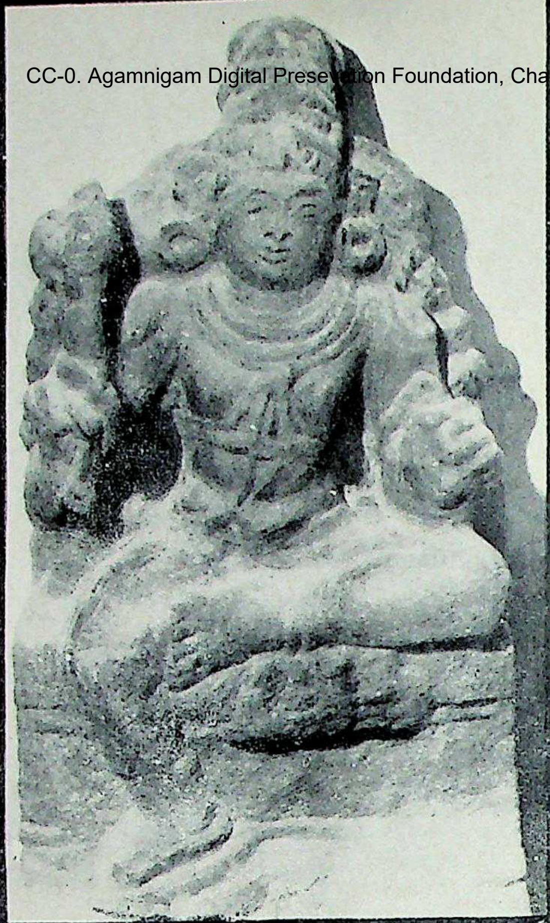


←Plate 35.
Chaṇḍēśvara, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāḷahasti.

Plate 33.
Subrahmaṇya, *vimāna*, grīvā-niche, east, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Laḍḍigam. ↓

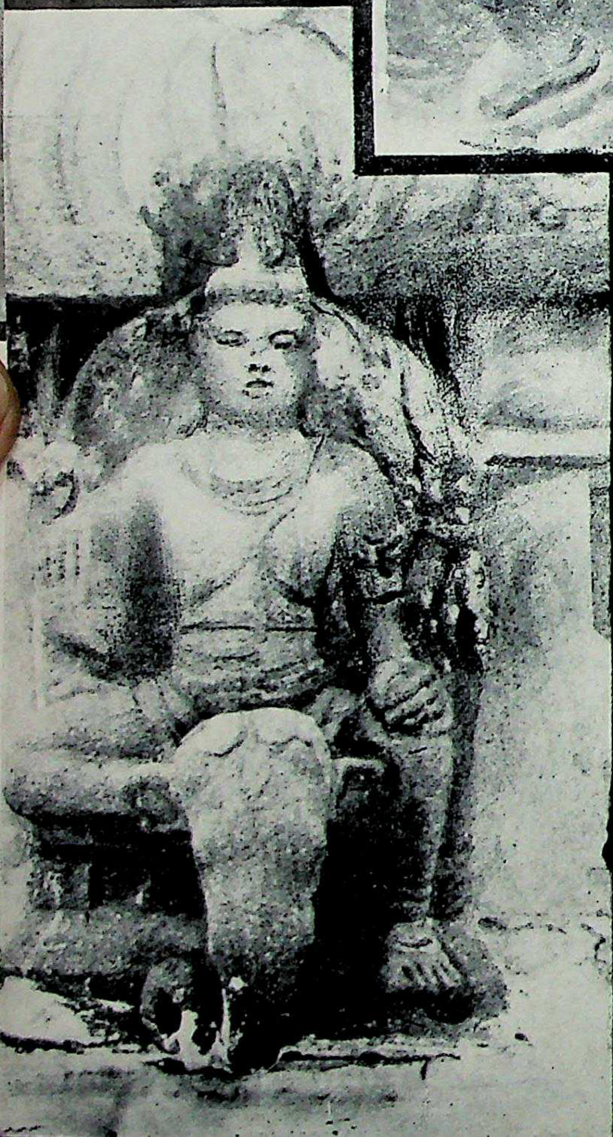
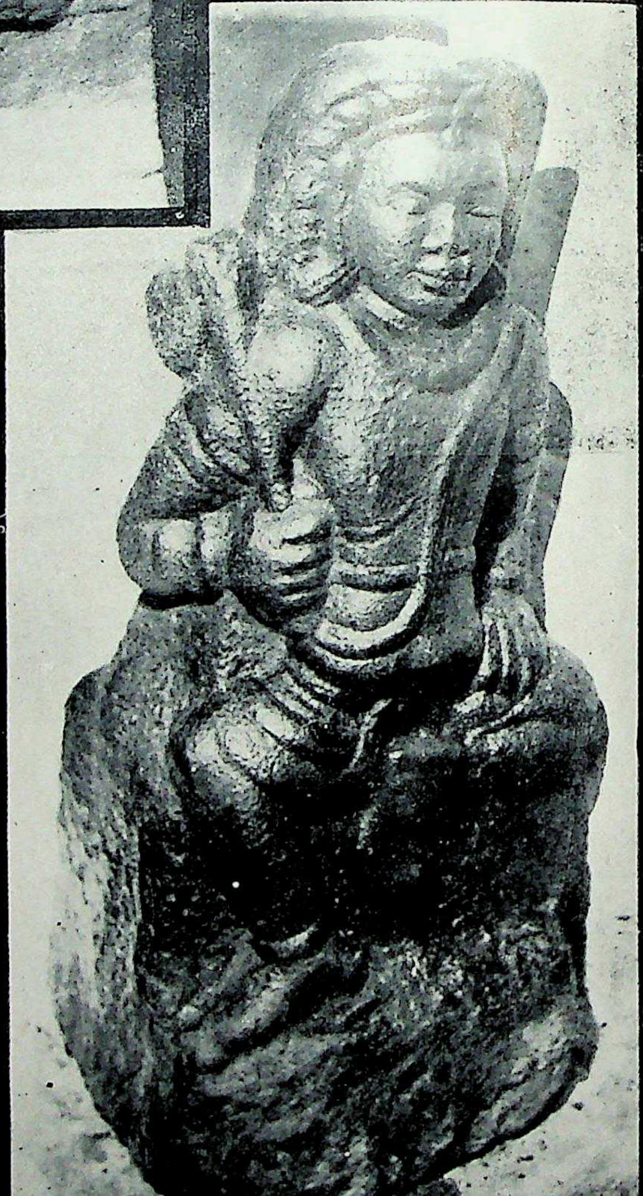


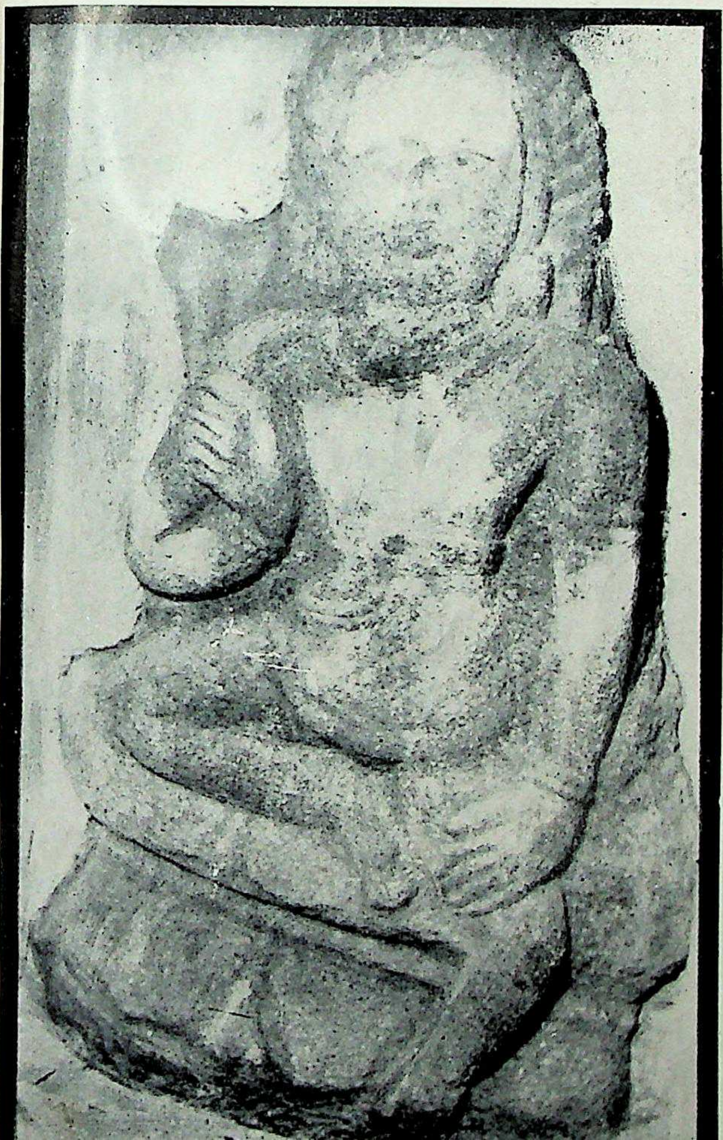
Plate 34
Chaṇḍēśvara, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple, Kāṇippākkam ↓

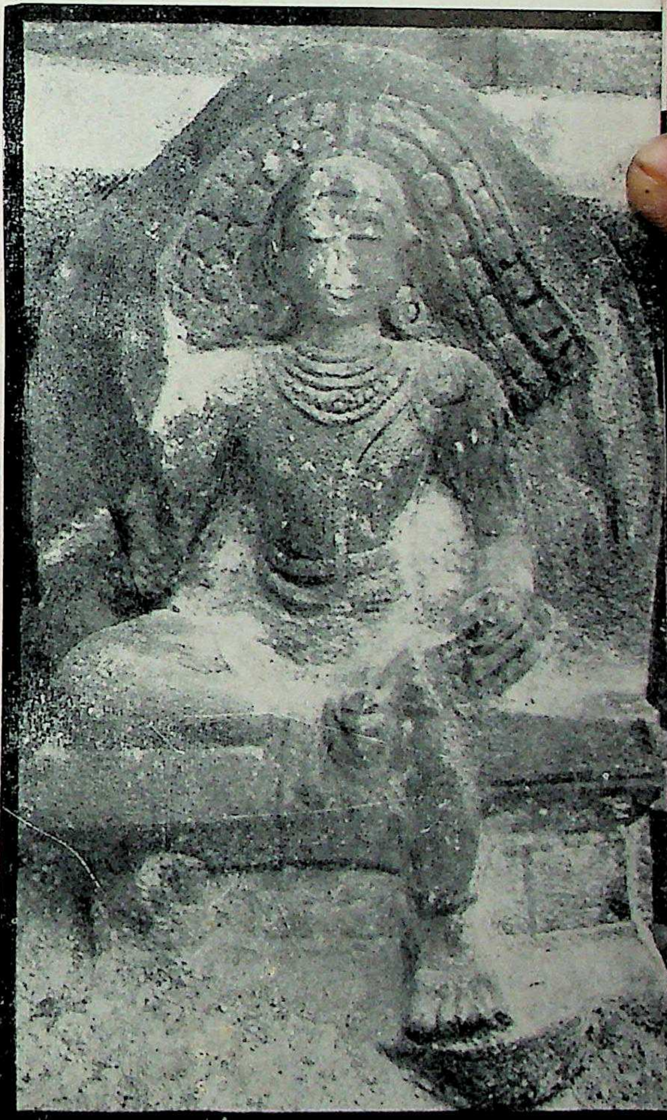


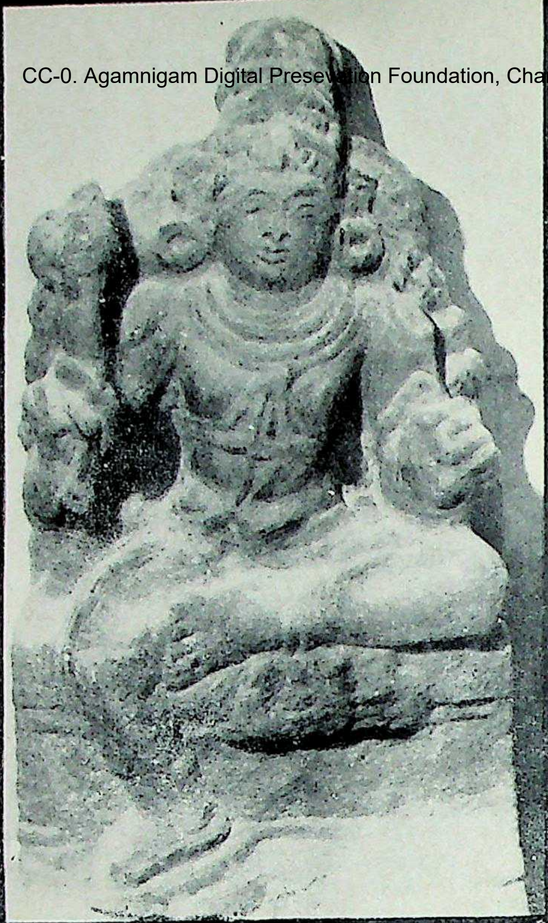
Jyēṣhṭhā, Parāśarēśvara temple, Yōgimallavaram.

Plate 36.
Chaṇḍēśvara, Paraśurāmēśvara temple, Guḍimallam. ↓

Plate 37.
Chaṇḍēśvara, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Laḍḍigam.







←Plate 35.
Chaṇḍēśvara, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara
temple, Kāḷahasti.

Plate 33.
Subrahmaṇya, *vimāna*,
grīvā-niche, east,
Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara
temple, Laḍḍigam. ↓

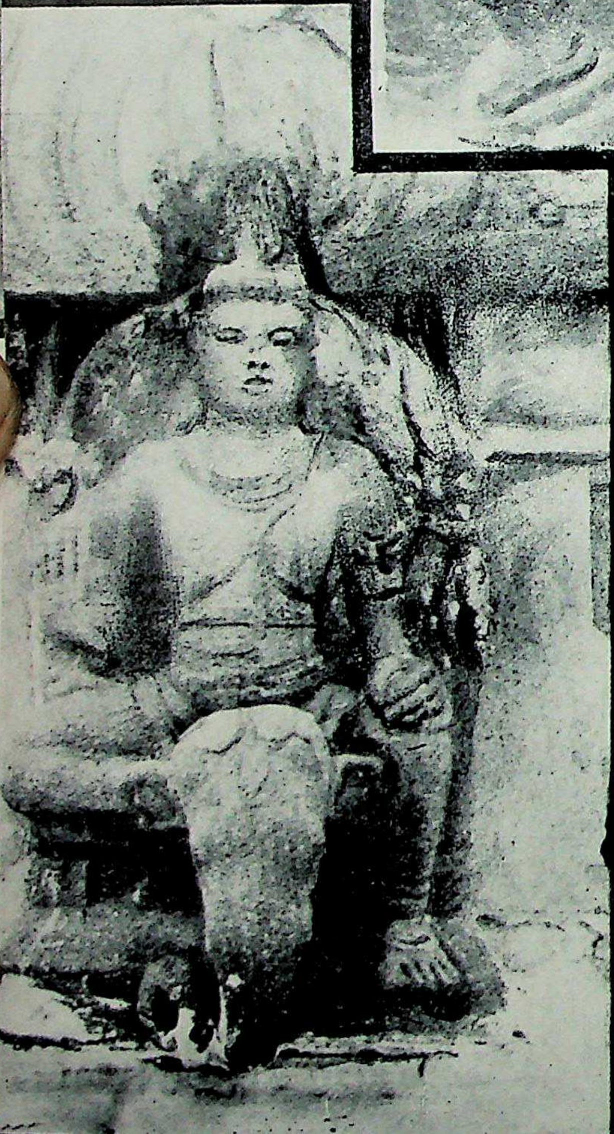


Plate 34
Chaṇḍēśvara, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara
temple, Kāṇippākkam ↓

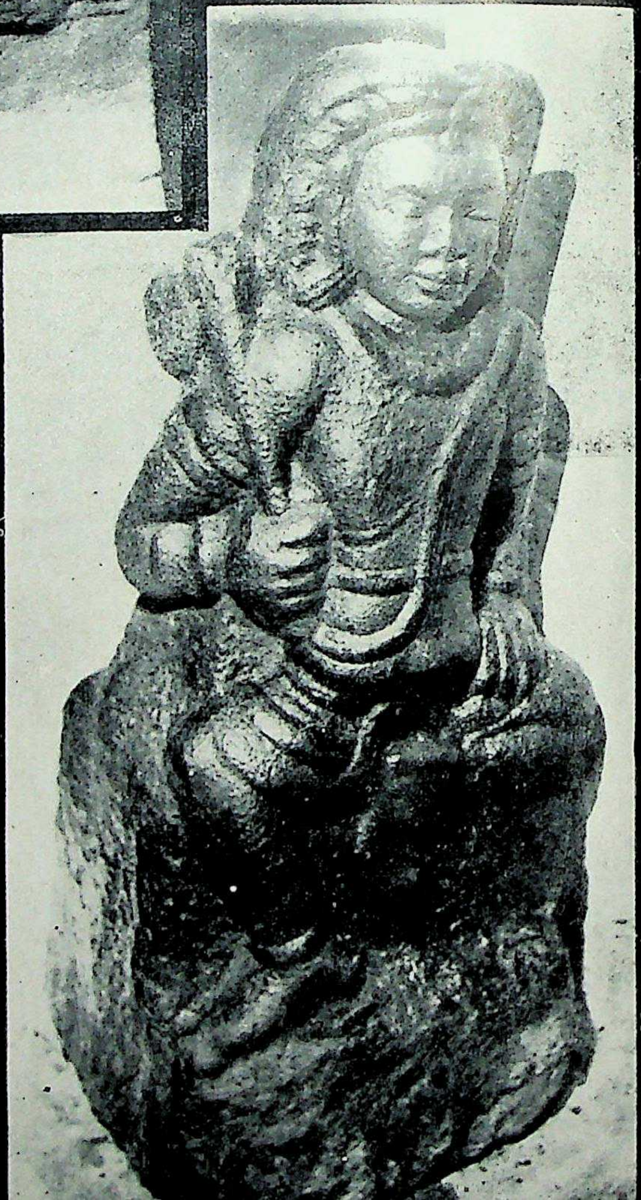


Plate 38.
Jyēṣhṭhā, Parāśarēśvara temple, Yōgimallavaram.

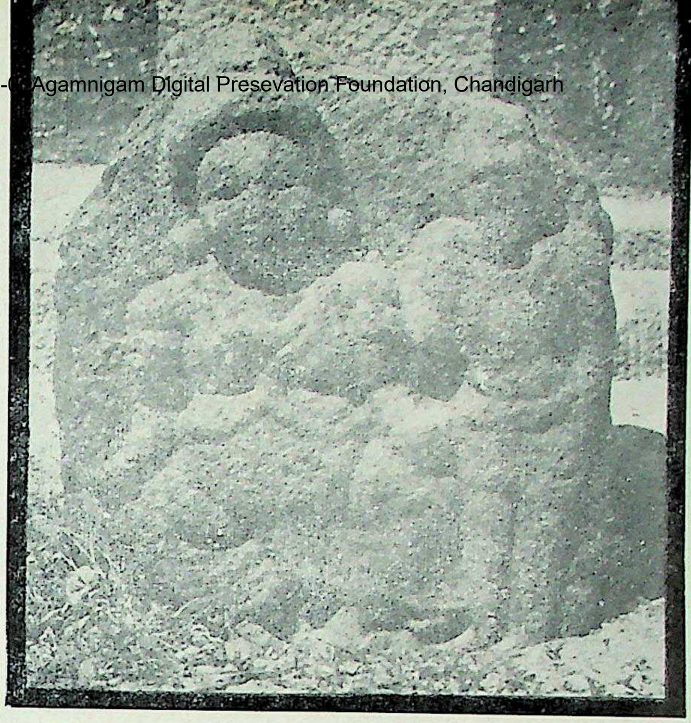


Plate 36.
Chaṇḍēśvara, Paraśurāmēśvara temple, Guḍimallam.

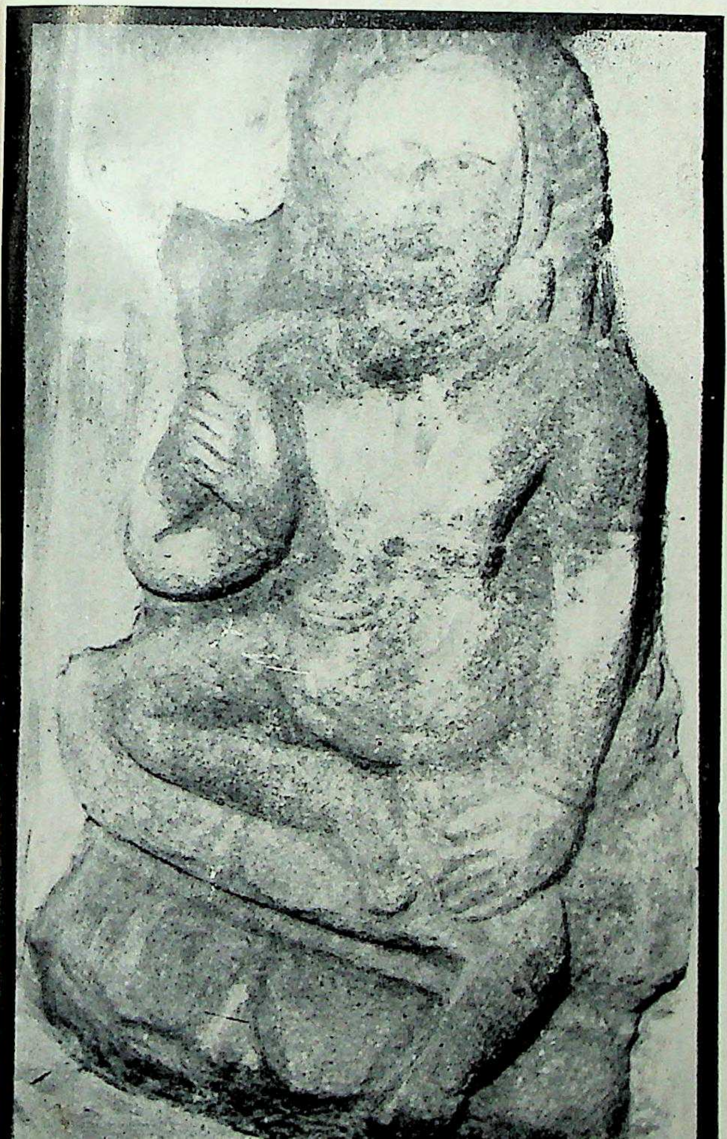


Plate 37.
Chaṇḍēśvara, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Laḍḍigam.

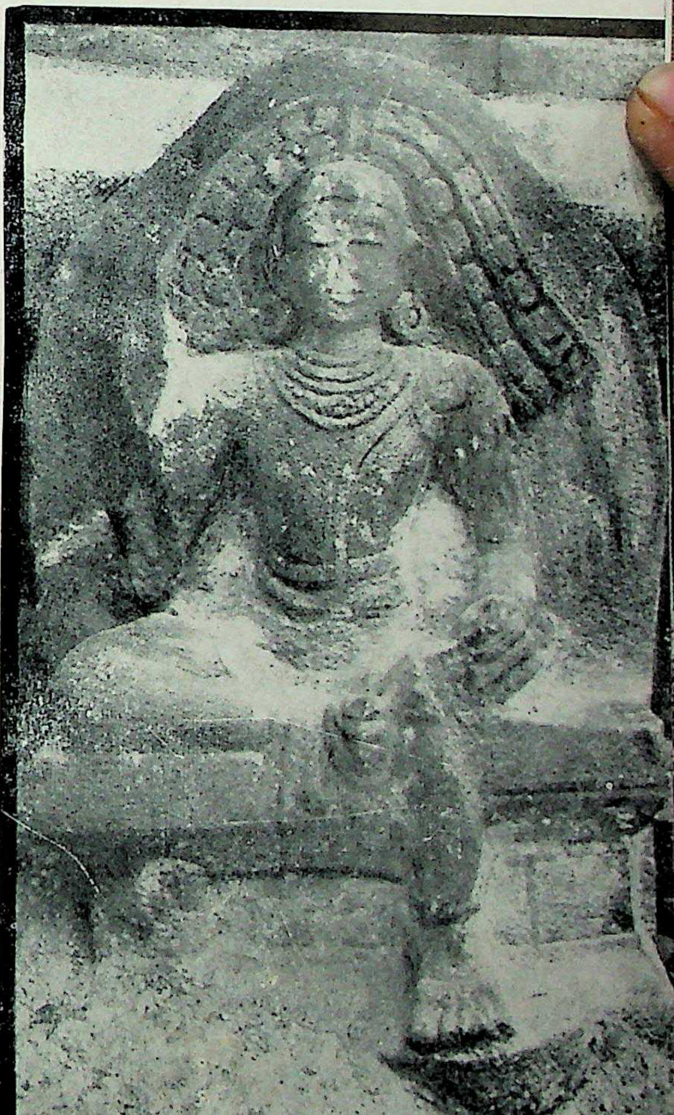


Plate 43. A stately person standing, Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa (now called Gollavāri-maṇḍapa), Chennakēśava temple, Sōmapalle. →

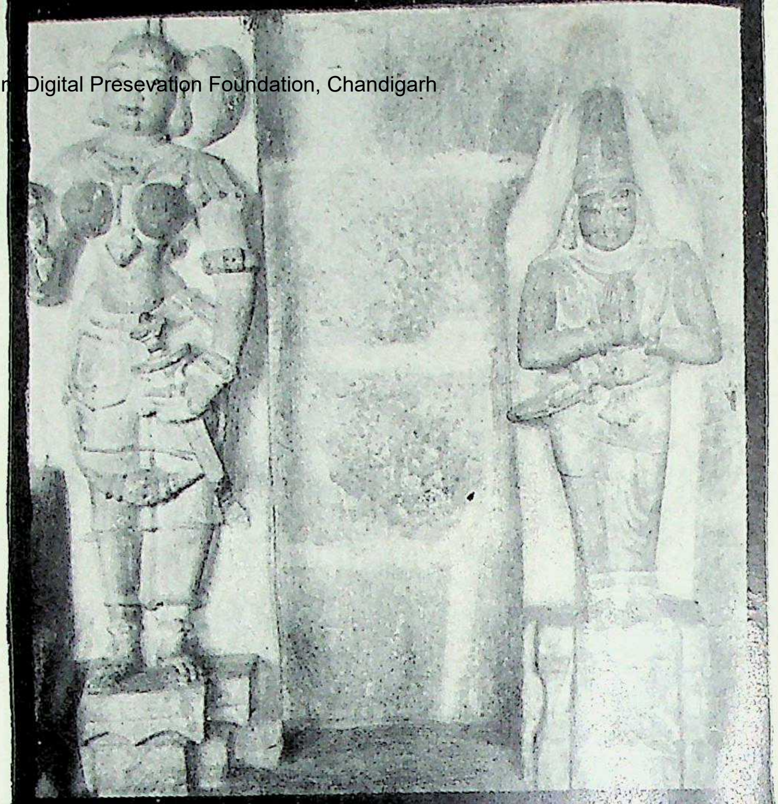


Plate 39.
Inscribed bronze image of Nambirāṭṭiyār Chōḷamādēviyār, Kāḷahastīśvara temple, Kāḷahasti. ↓

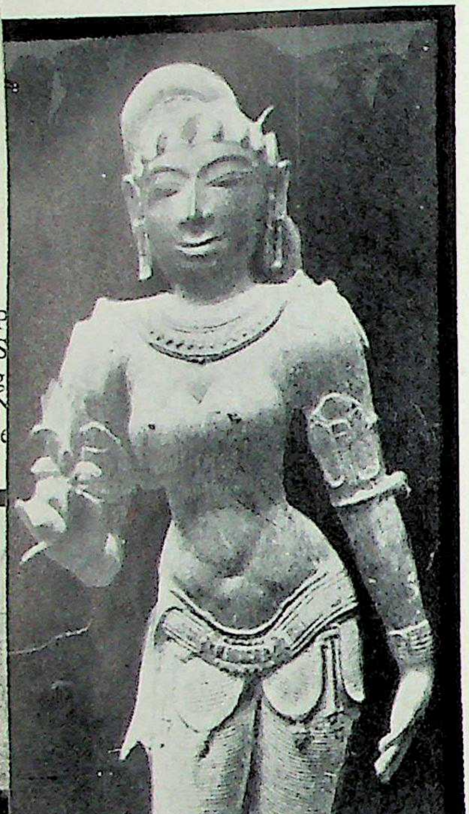
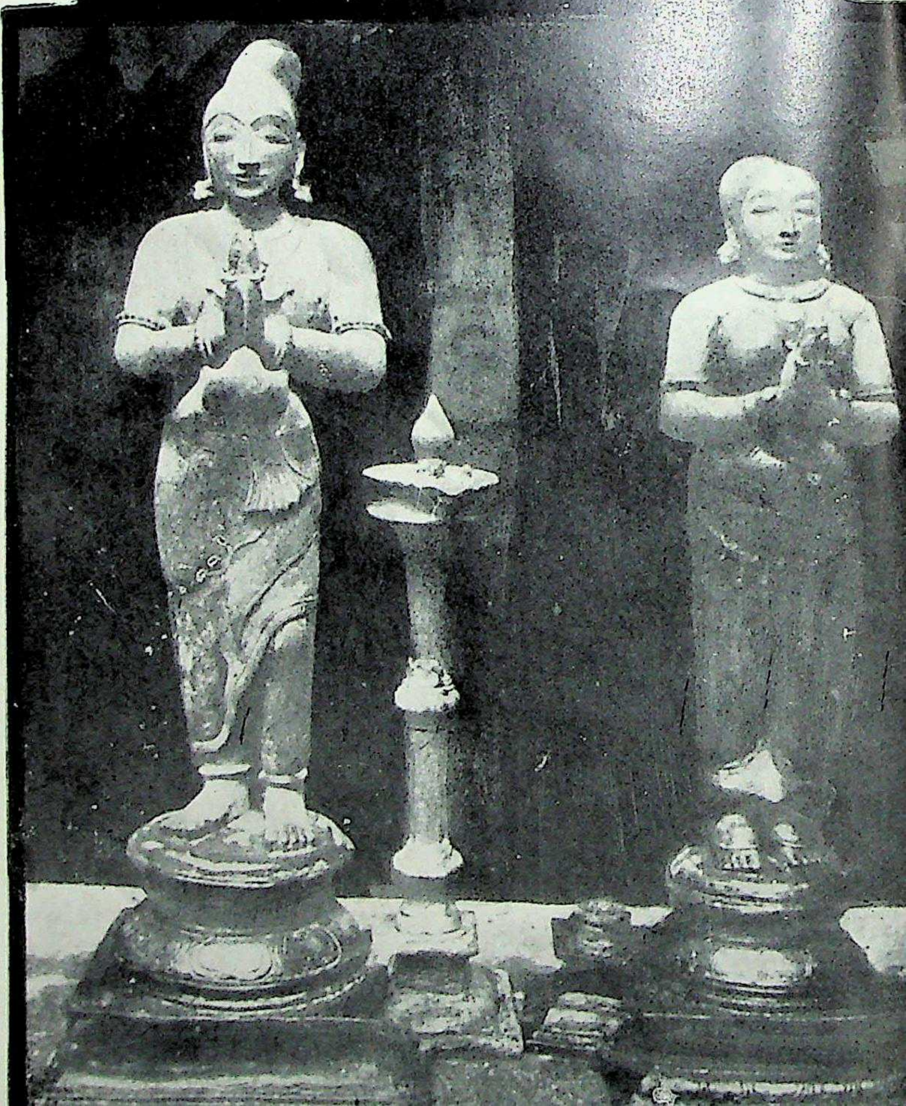
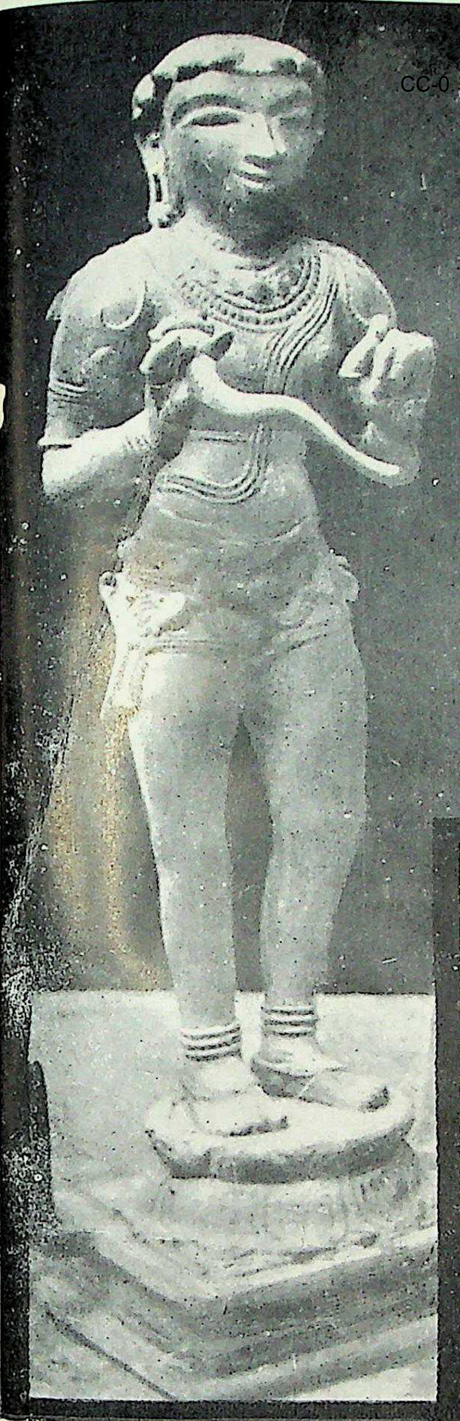


Plate 40.
Bronze images of Kēttaṇ Ādittaṇ *alias* Maṅgaḷūr-Nāḍāḷvār and his sister Kaliyavvai, Kāḷahastīśvara temple, Kāḷahasti. →

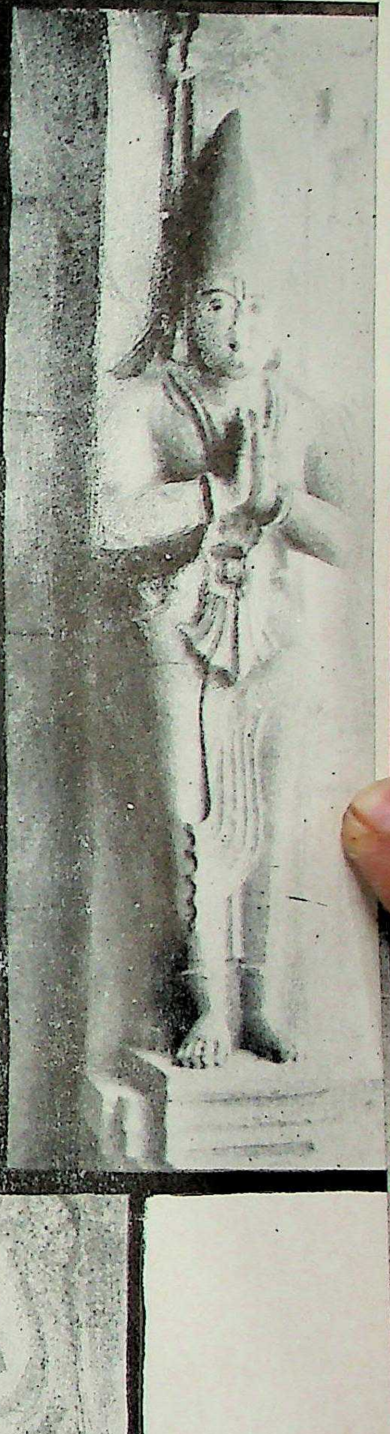


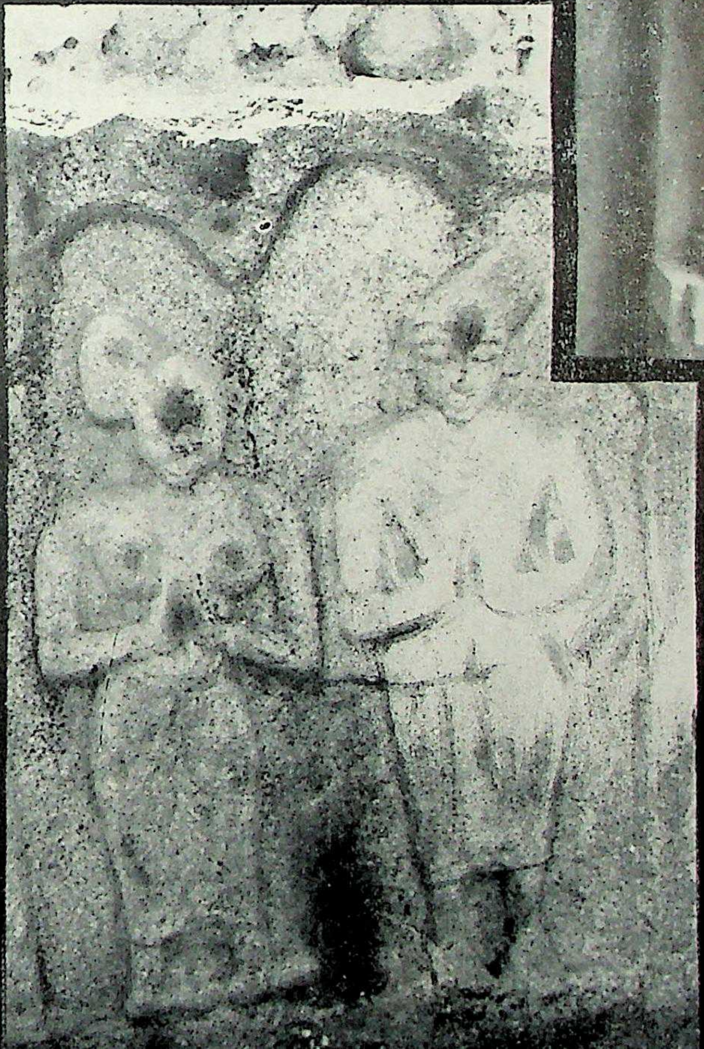


←Plate 41.
Inscribed bronze image of
Āḷ-Uḍaiya Nambi-
(Sundaramūrti Nāyaṉār)
Kāḷahastīśvara temple,
Kāḷahasti.

Plate 44.
A staunch Vaiṣṇava devotee,
Gollavāri-maṇḍapa, Chennakēśava temple,
Sōmapalle. →

Plate 42.
Devotees standing,
Mogilēśvara temple,
Mogili. ↓





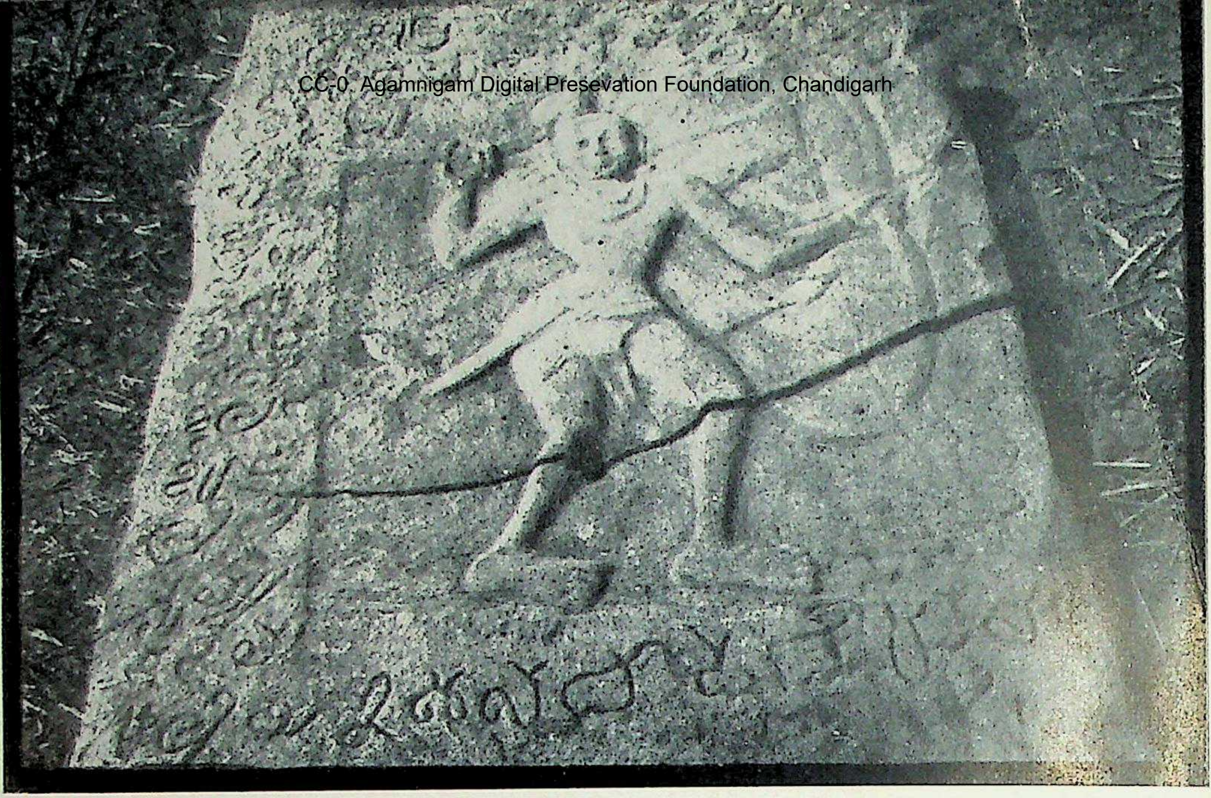
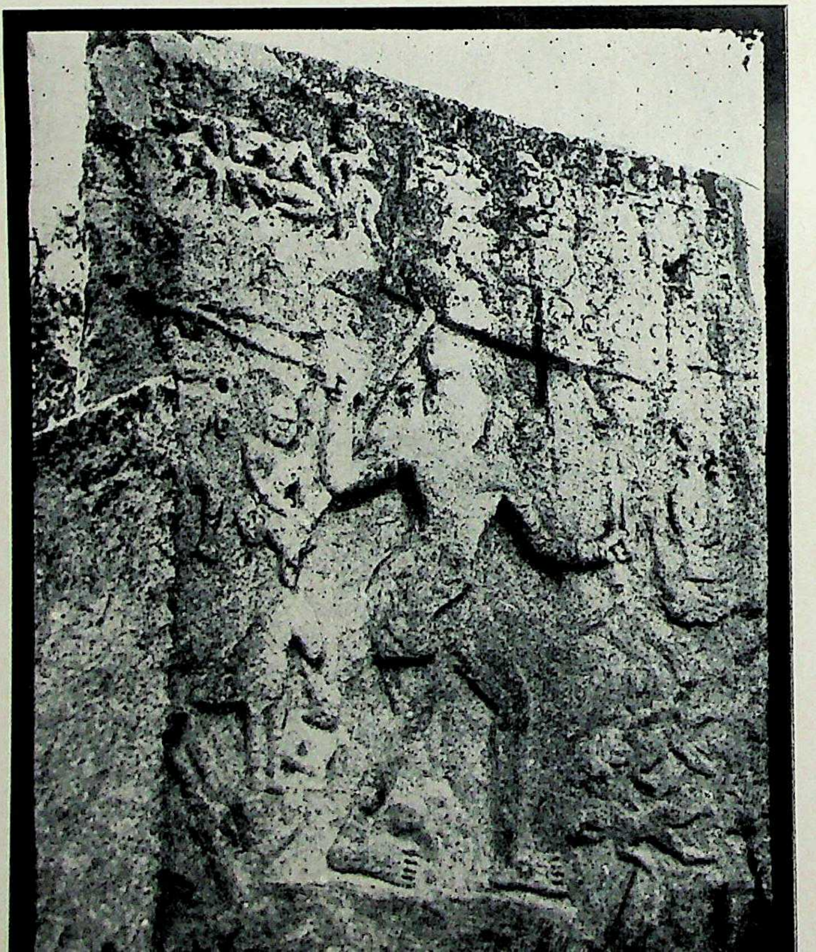


Plate 45. An inscribed hero-stone, Bōḍināyanipalle.

Plate 47. A hero-stone with a small panel above showing celestial damsels, and figures lying on the ground, Embāḍi.



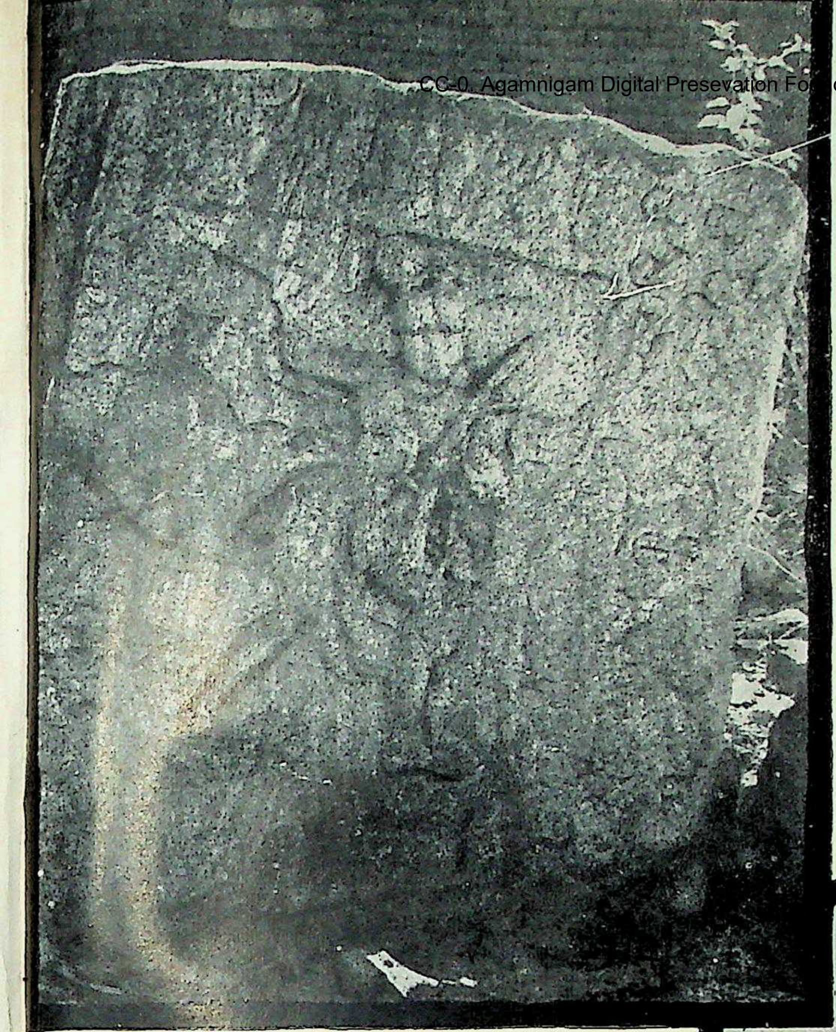


Plate 48. An inscribed hero-stone, Yātavākili.

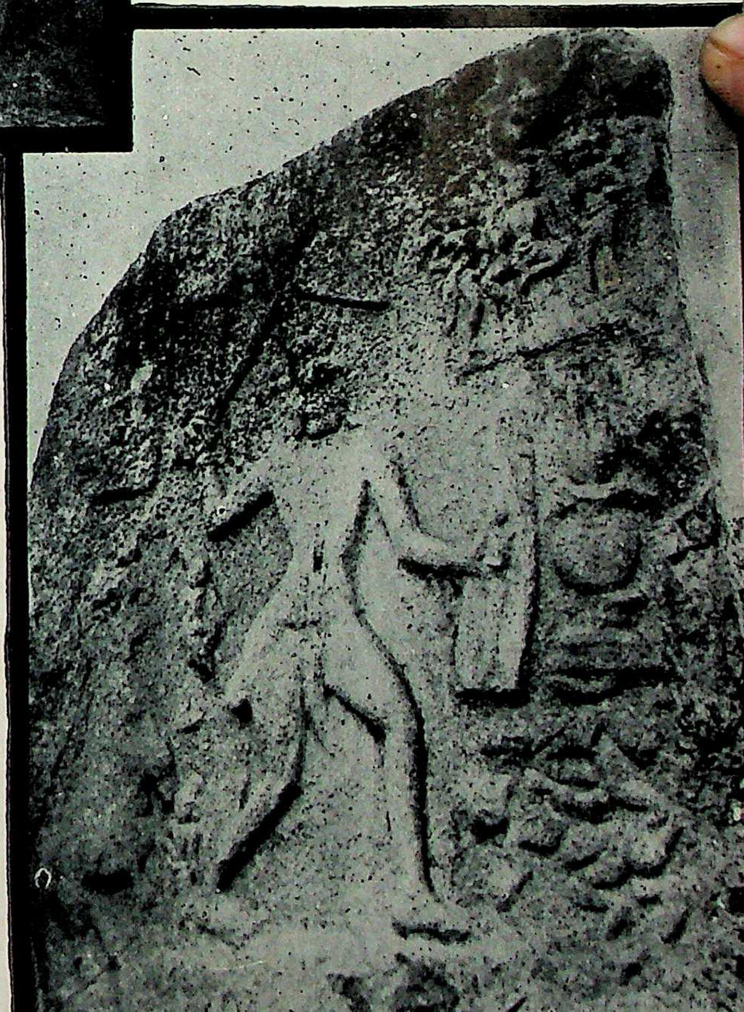


Plate 46. A hero-stone depicting a pot with an object above and a pedestal-like object, Embāḍi.

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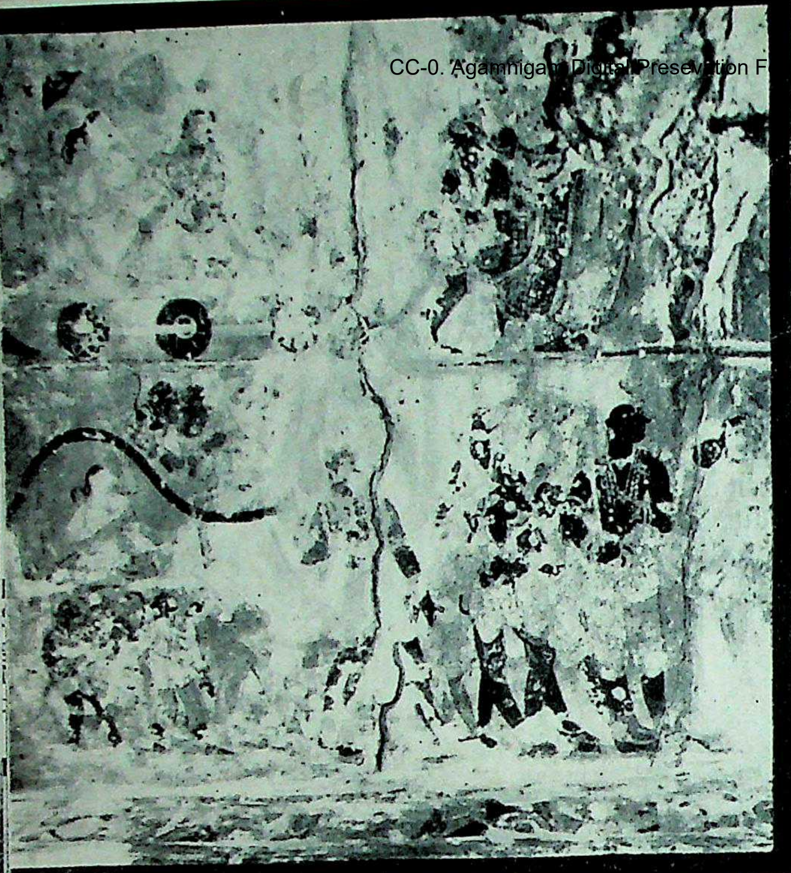

Plate 51. A scene from *Rāmāyaṇa* representing Sītā returning to Rāma by palanquin, *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Chennakēśava temple, Sōmapalle.

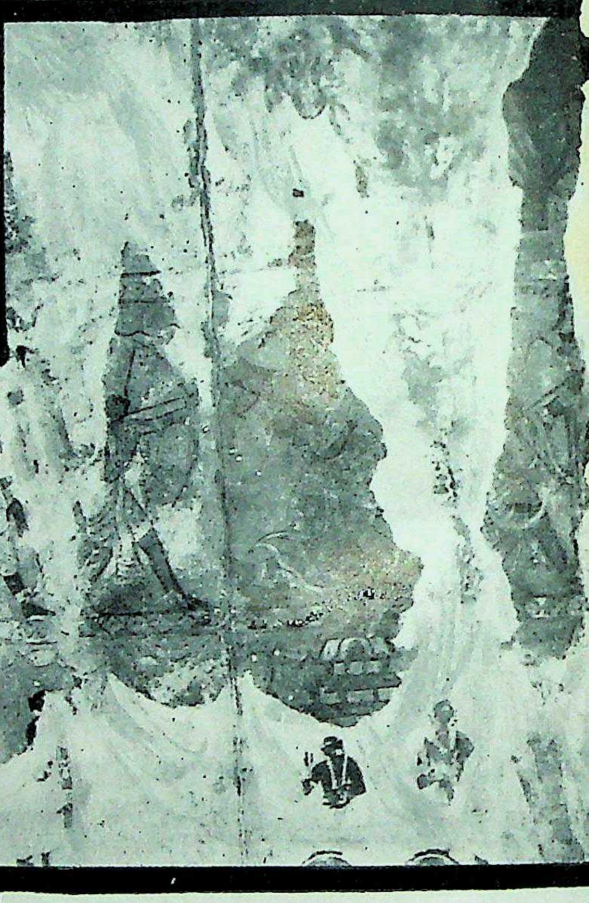

Plate 49. A scene from *Rāmāyaṇa* depicting Rāma aiming his arrow at Tāṭakā, *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Chennakēśava temple, Sōmapalle.

Plate 50. A scene from *Rāmāyaṇa* representing Vibhīshaṇa-śaraṇāgati, *mukha-maṇḍapa*, Chennakēśava temple, Sōmapalle.

OPINIONS

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For the proper understanding of the history of the Indian sub-continent, which, at all times of its known history, has been made up of ever so many territorial entities having their own political, cultural and linguistic identities, well documented studies of regional histories are an essential pre-requisite. From that point of view Dr. M.D. Sampath's 'Chittoor Through The Ages' is indeed a very welcome addition to the growing list of such regional studies. The painstaking labour put in, the thoroughness with which the available sources have been exploited, and the scientific methodology adopted by the author have rendered the present work authentic. Besides shedding new light on the chequered careers of such minor yet important ruling families as those of the Vaidumbas, Rēṇāṇḍu Chōḷas, Bāṇas and a host of others, through the judicious exploitation of the epigraphical source material the author has made his main contribution in his useful chapter on the Art and Architecture of the Chittoor region. The corollary chapters on administration, social and economic conditions, religious and language and literature will be of great help in comparing and contrasting Chittoor's development with that of its neighbours. The perseverance with which Dr. Sampath has delved deep into the primary sources, including epigraphy, should serve as an abject example to all upcoming researchers. The world of scholars can hopefully expect more such contributions from this young researcher in the years to come.

DR. B.R. GOPAL,

Reader in South Indian Studies and Epigraphist, Mysore-6.

There are some regions which at some period of history became diplomatically sensitive on the mastery over which hang the destinies of major powers. It becomes essential to know the history of these regions to understand the politics of major kingdoms. The study of *Chittoor Through The Ages* which the author has attempted is one such important contribution toget an insight into the political activities. Dr. M.D. Sampath has focused his attention on the history, chronology and genealogy of the feudatory families of this region and their rivalry with the neighbouring powers prior to the 10th century. The numerous epigraphs which unravel the distinct features of culture of this region and its assimilations in fields like art, architecture, Epigraphical language and literature and religion have been thoroughly examined by the present author. I am sure that the study of regional history from inscriptions of this kind marks a stride in the progress of understanding the History of South India.

Published by :

B.R. Publishing Corporation

Delhi-110052